Vo 155, No 5

Week ending August 4, 1998

Indonesia

on unrest

Nick Cumming-Bruce

in Jakarta

cracks down

MOKE and flames rose over the

Dakarta skyline at the weekend

as angry mobs smashed or burnt

government offices, banks, busi-

nesses and vehicles in a violent

explosion of resentment against President Subarto's 30-year old rule.

Several hundred troops and riot

police lost control of a densely popu-

lated quarter of central Jakarta to

demonstrators angered by a police-

led assault on the headquarters of

the Indonesian Democratic Party

(PDI), driving out followers of popu-

lar opposition leader Megawati

Sukarnoputri. One person is under-stood to have died falling from a

burning building and up to 50 peo-

ple are thought to have been injured

in a day of cat-and-mouse battles be-

tween security forces and crowds of

predominantly young protesters.
On Saturday night, the agricul-

ture ministry was a raging inferno

of flame and a two-storey military

loads of police and men dressed in

the red T-shirts of the PDI, purport-

ing to be members of a rival faction

of the party but widely thought to

be members of the security ser-

vices, launched a fierce assault on

Megawati's followers in the PDI

The operation was the culmina-

tion of a prolonged but clumsy manoeuvre by the army to replace

Megawati, daughter of the late Pres-

ident Sukarno, as party chairman with a less threatening leader. Her

removal at a special congress failed

Crowds quickly formed around police lines, chanting "Victory for Megawati". Then protesters screamed "The army kills, the army

are killers" at troops. After a heavy

volley of rocks rained on the sol

the crowds, severely beating any-one who failed to get out of their

diers, reinforcements moved in on

to disperse her followers.

headquarters.

Violence erupted when lorry

property had been gutted by fire.

David Davies at Lytham

IFIEEN months ago Tom Lehman was under the surgeon's knife for cancer of the colon. On Sunday, at Royal Lytham St Annes, he became the champion golfer of the year, as the Royal and Ancient quaintly calls the man who becomes Open champion. Lehman, who had led by six shots overnight from Nick Faldo, eventually won by two from Mark McCumber and or change. "He just needs a few Ernie Els. with Faldo fourth, three carly putts. The first six to seven behind the winner.

The champion's final round of 73, two over par, was good enough for a 271 total, bettering that of Severlano Ballesteros, who won the last Open here in 1988, by two shots. It followed his course record-breaking card of 64 on Saturday, which saw him approach the final 18 holes with a total of 198, or 15 under, itself an Open record.

Afterwards Lehman, whose first major title carned him £200,000, admitted that "it was not pretty but it was gritty. It was a struggle. I didn't play well. I had no rhythm but I stuck it out and I came through." He also admitted that the crowd's welcome as he walked the final fairway gave him "tingles up and down my spine and tears in my eyes".

it was a great effort from a man who, a week after the 1995 Masters, was operated on for cancer. He was out of golf for a month, finished

Across

6 Greek poem about frish

honest (3, 5)

assembly that is extremely

18 Mountaineer's scrambing list (11)

Cryptic crossword by Orlando

Invitational in his second.

The final round was perceived by ilmost all the crowd as matchplay between Lehman and Faldo even though the Englishman was only one ahead of Mark Brooks and Vijay Singh and two ahead of Els and Fred Couples.

David Leadbetter, who had super-

vised the final Faldo practice seasion, had found nothing to criticise holes are crucial."

Meanwhile Lehman was standing over a 4ft par-putt at the 1st. "You don't want these so soon," said Leadbetter, "but of course they're great if you hole them." Lehman

At the 2nd Falcio hit a great ap proach putt which finished two inches away and was tapped in. But tap-ing were not what he wanted putts had to go in and pressure had to be applied.

The first sign of a Faldo breakthrough came at the 3rd where Lehman, for some reason, chose a club off the tee that would propel him far enough to reach the fairway bunker. His ball duly dived in, up against the face. "Go in the bunker," shouted a spectator as the ball was in flight, followed by some apparently uniborrassed tee-heeing when

The crowd was unashamedly jin-14th in his first tournament back on | goistic but a hole later, after a good



shot to the 4th green, a lone voice called out "Come on Tom Lehman" and there was a burst of supporting

Back in the bunker Lehman had no shot and did well to regain the fairway. Now Faldo had an important second shot. If he could get it close and get a birdie three, it would probably be a two-shot swing. But from the moment he struck it Faldo was anxious. Halfway into its flight he urged it

"go on" and then again, more

strongly, "go on". It was to no avail.

together (10) 13 Church based initially on a rock-

forming mineral (8)

The ball trickled off the green and although he picked up one shot it was a chance missed.

The 4th saw Faldo pick up another shot, this time with a 12ft birdie putt. The crowd erupted but there was no obvious emotion from Faldo, his face remained expressionless and the only acknowledgment of the near hysteria was a brief wave of the hand. Now he needed to press home

om 6ft at the short 5th, he misses from 3ft at the next and 6ft again a the next. It was desperately poor putting and illustrated the tension in the match. It also meant that Lehman survived a shaky patch of his own; he birdied none of the holes either.

By now it was apparent that the rest of the field were not content to leave it to Faldo to challenge. Couples had five birdles on the way out and moved past the Englishman Brooks, McCumber and Els al moved alongside and for a while the South African moved clearly into

He took on the challenge of the 13th - play short of the bunkers or carry them - and his drive finished pin-high at this 342yd hole. That took him to 12 under and he hit a wonderful second to the 15th which almost went in for an eagle as it rolled 3ft past the hole. Now 13 under, he was only two behind Lehman and two ahead of Faldo, with the birdie chance of the 16th to

The hole is only 357 yards but one must at all costs avoid the bunkers. Els drove into one, had to chop out and 13 under became 12 under. Worse, he drove into another bunker on the 18th, another no-go area, another automatic bogey and he had run out of holes on 11 under Lehman had a three-shot lead with three to play, when it might have

Faldo's last realistic chance of challenging disappeared into a fairway bunker at the 15th, dropping him back from 11 under to 10 Lehman himself dropped a shot at the 17th, when he found an awful lie in a bunker off the tee. But he reshis advantage, particularly at the par fives, the 6th and 7th, with birdies at least. But, after lipping out cumstances. cued a five for a two-stroke margin

Cycling Tour de France

Denmark turns out for Riis

14 Consumer magazine about end of migration thanks returning 16 A piece of music that's finished - true composition (8) first Dane to win the world's 19 Sharpness shown by a copper Denmark will be there, apart getting in the last word in praye 20 From sofa to settle? (2, 2)

turnout for a country of only 5 million people. Among the crowd were the Danish ambas-

Some 10,000 red-and-white sports result this country has

Even before this, Riis's successes in the French race had made cycling Denmark's fastest growing sport. A million will turn out to watch him in the country's national tour next

A quiet man on aud off the side cycling are said to be colrecords by singer Roger Whittaker, Riis is loved for his modesty and the patriotism he showed in returning home twice to contest the national championship, winning both times. But he lives in Luxembourg.

His only sticky moment came

during the two attacks that won

top finishes at Sestrieres in Italy

and Hautacam in the Pyrenees.

taken it at the hardest points of

the race," was how the five-times

winner Bernard Hinault agw it.

"He deserves this victory for

him the race, in the mounts

the way he has gone out and

Saturday's 39-mile time-trial Clearly having a bad day, he was at one point losing time to his second-placed Telekom colleague Jan Ullrich at a diaastrous rate. But Rlis held on and Ullrich's bold ride ensured that team-mates finished one-two for the first time since 1986. That crowned a dream Tour for Telekom, who also won five

path, and leaving numerous victims stages and took the green points jersey with their sprinter Erik Zabel, who was fifth in Sunday's pleeding in the street. Indonesian troops and police swiftly broke up anti-government final charge down the Champs, demonstrations on Sunday to prevent won by Italy's Fabio Baldato. a repeat of the riots, but flickering The abiding image of this Tour will remain Riis's jutting jaw, ag-onised face and shining pate protest indicated defiant opposition

towards President Suharto. Disturbances have so far been confined to the capital, and the authorities will be watching carefully for signs of protest in other cities.

Megawati expressed regret about the rioting, blamed criminals for the destruction, and appealed to her followers to stay calm. An aide said the popular leader has no plans to hold rallies and will concentrate on a court action challenging the legality of an army-organised PDI congress that removed her as party chairman.

Comment, page 10 Family business, page 12

The state of the s Terror casts shadow over Olympics

and Ian Katz in New York

Bl investigators said on Tues-day they were closing in on the terrorist who detonated a bomb in Atlanta's Centennial Park at the weekend as officials scrambled to explain why a warning received by emergency operators never reached the park where thousands of revellers were attending a rock concert.

The blast, which sent nails and screws flying into the crowd, killed an American woman, and a Turkish comeraman died of a heart attack as he rushed to the scene. More than 100 people were injured.

FBI sources said the pipe-bomb was more sophisticated than initially thought, but that agents were still concentrating on the theory that a local terrorist was responsible

As the Games continued and atendances at most events remained high, President Clinton hailed athletes and spectators for showing "that they would not be intimi-dated". He invited congressional leaders to the White House to discuss expanding wiretapping and chemically "tagging" explosives to nelp crack down on terrorism.

Atlanta's mayor, Bill Campbell said investigators were hoping to identify the Olympic bomber from elevision footage of the explosion and videos taken by surveillance

The knapsack containing the omb was, coincidentally, spotted by a policeman minutes before it exded. Agents were moving people way when the blast occurred.

The city's police chief, Beverley Harvard, said that an officer was lispatched to "secure" the payhone used to give a warning before he information was passed to a unit that co-ordinated responses bomb threats.



Guardian

One Guardian

lave responded quicker because the warning was not sufficiently specific. The caller only stated that there was a bomb in the park with no location at all, and basically said you have 30 minutes."

A sombre International Olympic Committee president, Juan Autonio Saniaranch, said he was impressed with the efforts of security forces in the moments before the blast and satisfied that the Games security was tight. "We are very grateful to the authorities for their excellent response and for the security mea-

sures they have taken," he said. Media speculation about the idenlity of the bomber has focused on America's shady network of socalled militia groups. Two members of a local rightwing group were charged in April with plotting a

unit at about the time the bomb ex-ploded, but insisted police could not organisers denied that the two had planned to target the Games.

A spokesman for the self-styled "112th Regiment Militia at-Large for the Republic of Georgia" insisted that the group had no connection with the attack. "We want to say that we had nothing whatsoever to do with this and we hope that whoever did this is caught as soon as possi-

ble,"]] Johnson said. "History leads me to believe we'll make an arrest," said David Tubbs, the FBI agent leading the investigators, who believe a "white American

man" planted the device.

Richard Jewell, the security guard who noticed the bag containng the bomb, recalled someone he had seen at the site who resembled a drawing on an FBI list.

Two French TV stations broadcast

woman the FBI were said to have linked to the bombing. Mr Tubbs said that the depicted individuals were not yet considered suspects.

Weekly

Investigators appealed to people who were near the lighting tower in the park to contact them. Mr Tubbs said his agents had received more than 900 leads.

 Prosecutors have charged eight militia members, after FBI agents swooped on two groups learning how to make explosive devices at a "bomb-making class" on an indus-trial estate. The FBI said it recovered pipe-bombs and two home-made machine guns when agents raided the class in Belling ham, Washington, approximately 80 miles north of Seattle. Three other suspects were also arrested

Comment, pages 10-11 Washington Post, page 13

China raises hopes for test ban treaty

Owen Bennett-Jones

HE final session of negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty started in Geneva this week immediately after a Chinese underground test, and amid fears that China and India could block consensus on the current draft text.

Shn Zukang, China's chief negotiator, arrived in Geneva saying other delegations should not be disconcerted by Beijing's decision to conduct a nuclear test hours before the talks restarted. "They should welcome it, because China's testing is now over," he said.

Immediately after the test, Beijing announced it would join the other four declared nuclear powers in abiding by a voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing.

The United States voiced its regret over the nuclear test, but elcomed China's announcement that it will now abide by the

China is trying to limit the right of other countries to order on-site inspections when there is a suspi clon that a test has been carried out in violation of the treaty.

The US, Russia, France and Britain say they are ready to sign an agreement without further negotiations. They fear that if China re-opens one aspect of the draft text, then everyone else will want to discuss parts of the treaty with which they are

India is making it increasingly clear it is propared to block the treaty and thereby force negotia-tions to continue indefinitely. The Indians say the draft text does not contain firm commitments to the global elimination of nuclear weapons.
The big five nuclear powers

they should commit themselves to

the elimination of nuclear weapons within a fixed time-scale. India is also concerned about the so-called entry into force provision, which has been backed by Britain, Russia and China. This states that the treaty will not become binding until a specified list of countries.

including India, signs it. "This is totally, absolutely unprecedented in international law and it's unacceptable to us," said Arundhati Ghose, the Indian ambassador.

India fears that if everyone else signs, then pressure will grow for New Delhi to join so the treaty can become internationally binding.

Army takes power in Burundi Japan fights killer bug

Big Brother 21 caught on camera

Turkey's woman of the West

New Brits on the writers' block

Malta 45c Neitherlands G 4.75 BF76 DK16 FM 10 FF 13 DM 4 Norway NK 18 Portugal E300 France Germeny Greece Italy DM 4 Spain P 300 DR 400 Sweden SK 19 L 3,000 Switzerland SF 3.30

9 Little Tommy's grub? (6) 10 Stem dynasty preparing for war Cheeses, we hear, in cooler (6) againt? (8) 2 It looks ill (3, 4, 3) 11 Instinctive response of good 3 Creating new fruit (8) German with reference to hattle 4 Class act in play, say, or end of 15 An Asian city managed to make play (8) 5 It can be addictive in a French progress (7) 17 English trees? Humbugl (7) city, love cun (8)

7 One attenuation the same place (4)

22 Lone Royalist in disguise (8)

23 Champ with his heart in a

24 Outrageous Jingoism? (8)

25 Father taking others out for a

Last week's solution

SEMIRIGID HALF
E A E O E T P I
LYRIC OFFTHEPEG
F I E D I R E U
MEATPLE CREATOR
A T G I E I E
DRAWINGSTUMPB
E L O E E O
GONNECTINGROD
M O C L A I Y
APHYLLY CANDLES

8 Accommodation for squad's last soldier sent back to second 12 Agree payment for acting

William Fotheringham in Paris

A SKED what he expected to see when the Tour arrived on the Champs-Elysées, Bjarne Riis, who on Sunday became the biggest cycle race, replied: "All from two people: the queen and one border guard."

He was not far wrong. Coaches with DK numberplates lined the back streets off the world's finest boulevard after disgorging an estimated 50,000 fans, a fair sador to France and the Danish

ninister of sport. Danish flags were handed out by the embassy; five Royal Guard drummers added to the celebra-Riis's local paper, Jyllands Posten, said was "the blowest

ever known".

bike, whose major interests out-

William Fotheringham is features editor of Cycling Weekly

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The BBC belongs to the people, not to managers

Birt . . ., July 21). I wonder if it has occurred to Bland and Birt that it is not they who own the BBC, it is the people of Britain - and the millions of people all over the world who admire, need and love the BBC World Service, Indeed, it is for many their only source of unbiased, accurate and extremely interesting news, not to mention science, literary and music programmes. Having worked for the United Nations in more than 20 countries, I can assure Birt and Bland that no one from the Andes to the Himalayas is in the least interested in the type of domestic news programmes put out by national BBC. For those who want news about Britain, the World Service beams us Britain Today.

it appears to me, my family, colleagues and friends that an example of the highest professionalism, a rare example of excellence, is to be destroyed by inamely arrogant. bureaucratic, penny-pinching adin qualities of leadership. Diana de Marco. Todi, Umbria, Italy

↑ FRIGITENING reminder Britain's increasing isolation is the recent move to cut back on the World Service broadcasts. To those of as who have chosen to live and work abroad, it serves not only as a lifeline to good, international broadcasting standards but it also reminds listeners that Britain is not the defensive, cornerate country as portrayed by other international

AM prompted to write by Andrew and ignorant of foreign cultures. If Culf's article (No concessions by independent, well-balanced quality journalism is put in jeopardy by the kind of management that supports Noel's House Party, the influence and impact of the World Service, and consequentially Britain, will be

dramatically affected. Susanna Kemp, Higher Education Support Program. Budapest, Hungary

THE importance of the BBC World Service for those cantpaigning for democracy in Africa was illustrated to me when I visited Malawi as a member of an international trade union delegation in 1992, in the days of the repressive Banda dictatorship.

Delegation members Canada, Norway and the US were introduced, without comment, to the prime minister, John Tembo, probably the most feared person in Malawi. When I was introduced, Tembo launched a tirade of abuse about the World Service which, he said, was endangering the stability of Malawi by spreading propaganda about the Banda regime. His outburst demonstrated the important part played by the World Service in he fight for democracy in the alsence of a free press.

N 1988, while working for Help the Aged, I spent several weeks in Latin America. After completing an assignment in Peru, I spent a few days visiting the surrounding Inca-English was almost faultless. asked him where he had studied



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I profes and to record presentational affects from selected continues

our language. "The BBC World Service," he replied. "I listen ever day."

Diane Trembath,

London

ETA strategy is sectarian too

OHN HOOPER (Copy cat terrorists of the Costa Dorada, July 28) is not altogether accurate in distinguishing the Basque conflict from the Northern Irish as lacking a sectarian element. As he points out, ETA's attacks on some Basque (rather than non-Basque) targets is a recent development — a response to Herri Batasuna's abject failure to expand or even maintain their support within the Basque country - and negatively confirms that in general ETA's enemy has been defined as "Spanish".

Hooper doesn't mention the most striking difference, however. There is no coherent argument whatsoever confirming that the Basque country is systematically denied democratic rights by the post-Franco Spanish state.

Not only does Euzkadi have a high degree of autonomy, but along with Catalunya it is the richest region in Spain — not exactly a traditional indicator of oppression. Unlike the Basque country, Northern Ireland is an intrinsically see tarian creation, and northern nationalists are still systematically discriminated against as even offi cial social statistics confirm.

THE reaction to the bomb explosions in Spain is interesting. Quite properly the mood of the Spanish authorities and British holidaymakers was that the bombing would not affect tourism unduly as nost people are unwilling to bow to the threat of terrorism. Contrast that to the reaction of tourist chiefs and government in Northern Ireland. The tourists were leaving in droves, they said; every statement was more negative than the last. One would be forgiven for believing that the scaremongers were working for the Spanish tourist board. William Montgomery, Bangor Branch, Democratic

Unionist Party, Belfast Le Monde, page 17

Keep up the fight against Trident

VELL said, the eminent 12 who signed the letter against retaining Trident (July 21). It is appatling that £40 billion may be wasted. I look with pride at New Zealand's saner attitude towards nuclear weapons

Militarily, New Zealand other traditional allies. Ever since 1989, when the government enacted a Bill to make New Zealand nuclear free, this split has widened. It was apparent when New Zealand sent its attorney-general to the World Court to argue the illegality of nuclear weapons, Our traditional allies had not even wanted the matter brought before the court. Again there was a divergence of opinion when New Zealand protested strongly against France for testing nuclear devices in the Pacific, and Britain concurred around Dhahran, with the French. More recently, Neil Solomon, since the World Court gave its opin- 1 Massawa, Eritrea

ion on the illegality of nuclear veapons, Britain's response has been negative whereas in New Zealand the opinion was seized

upon with relief and hope. These are exciting concepts far better than the prospect of wasting billions on Trident.

Dick Reynolds.

Christchurch, New Zealand

THE ruling from the International Court of Justice on the illegality the threat or use of nuclear veapons is not as the Guardian Weekly reports "disappointing" for anti-nuclear campaigners (International Court fudges nuclear arms ruling. July 14). While the Court could not determine whether or not the threat or use of nuclear weapons s illegal in every circumstance, i did rule that such threat or use is "generally illegal".

The only circumstance on which the Court was undecided was in the extreme circumstance of selfdefence in which the very surviva of a State would be at stake", and even then the rules of humanitarian law would apply. In addition, the Court ruled that the nuclear armed States have "an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a concluion negotiations leading to nuclear

The Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, New York, USA

INDEED, the Trident is a nuclear waste, according to Tony Benn and fellow MPs. Thank God for

But danger could still lie ahead in the light of the position adopted by the International Court of Justice. While the court ruled that the use of nuclear weapons would "generally" unlawful, it was undecided on whether nuclear weapons could be used in self-defence. History shows that wars always start with grand declarations of national interests. security and self-defence. Sydney, Australia

Roots of the Dhahran bomb

EXCEPT for David Hirst's article (Dangers of supping with the Americans, July 7), which spotlights Washington's Middle East double standards, Guardian Weekly re-ports on the Dhahran bombing have barely scratched the surface of processes at work in Saudi Arabia.

Scores of sources testify to the vehemently repressive, anti-democratic and corrupt regime. Riyadh continues to pump out cheap oil for the West while its revenue keeps the Saudi rulers at play and bankrolls the US military, with a fraction allocated to the people. Little wonder that marginalised stands apart from Britain and its opposition groups, denied any parliamentary channel, should strike using their only realistic

political medium — violence. Also worthy of analysis is the possibility that the same people responsible for the Dhahran bomb were themselves nurtured by the US in the fifties and sixties. The enemy of the day then was Nasserism, so the CIA helped set up anti-socialist Islamic groups throughout the Middle East, including in Saudi Arabia and especially

Briefly

IDON'T think there's anythic wrong in giving the death set. tence for selling women; I don't think it's a lesser crime than murder, rape and assault, as Francis Deron thinks it is (China speeds up rate of executions, June 30). I think men who regard women in the same terms as cattle cannot be

I don't know if we are actually seeing an improvement in the rights of women in China, or if the govern ment has its own reasons for handing out these penalties. What we are seeing is women still being regarded as a commodity. Ironically, when girl babies were undesirable they were killed or abandoned; now. because that same chauvinistic attitude has put them in short supply, women become profitable. Ann Ashlev.

'ancouver, Canada

EVERY now and then, perhaps during the "silly season", the Guardian Weekly rolls out the old chestnut of student howlers (Student clangers, July 21). Haven't people realised yet that these are the free spirits, the non-conformists, the anarchists of school and examination rooms, protesting at the system which chops up knowledge, force-feeds them with it, and expects them to regurgitate it as required by

ICAN understand the Americans $m{I}$ in their purochial befullement being convinced that the rest of the world must follow US foreign policy and how to US law. But one thing about the Helms-Burton Act of trade with Cuba has not yet been explained. To which branch of the Mafia do they want expropriated Cuban property returned? Ottawa, Canada

[UST catching up with a back Jissue but I have to differ that Pa Buchman has "argued" the rejection of globalisation. Perhaps we could invent a verb "domagogued". Deptford, New Jersey, USA

✓OUR leader (Filling a more vacuum, July 14) seems to acquiesce in George Carey's opinion that people should not select for themselves what is right and wrong. Our society is founded upon peop constantly making such decisions. The majority of crime is committed by people who know that what they are doing is wrong, but are driven to it by anger, need, or some other consideration that overrides a simple version of morality.

The Guardian

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e-mail; weekly@guardian.co.uk.

Chris McGreal in Bujumbura army took control of the vio-lence-racked Central African country last week, deposed the civilian coalition government that included moderate Hutus, and defied the outside world to do its worst.

tal, Bujumbura, and armoured personnel carriers packed with troops rolled into the centre. The coup was apparently bloodless, however. "Burundi is not going to be colonised again. This is an independent country and we are not going to be governed by foreigners," an army spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Longin Minani, said as the United Nations and Organisation of African Unity (OAU) condemned the coup and threatened intervention.

PHOTOGRAPH CORINNE DUFK

week seemed no closer to deciding what to do about the coup. The OAU secretary-general, Salim Ahmed Saim, threatened to use force but did not say where the troops would come from. The United States said it still recognised the deposed Hutu president. Svivestre Ntibantunganya. who sought shelter at the US ambassador's residence. But the US envoy met Mr Buyoya twice in the two days after he took office. He declined to discuss the nature of their talks.

A UN spokeswoman, Sylvana Foa, said the UN secretary-general. Boutros Boutros Ghall, "supported calls for a regional summit to be convened argently to discuss ways of calming the situation".

At the weekend, Tutsi soldiers massacred up to 150 unarmed villagers in Mont Gisagara, in Gitega on't believe in a military solution." province, a day after Maj Buyuya admitted "misconduct" by troops and

was revealed on Monday. Three days earlier, the army watched as Tutsi students murdered at least 20 Hutu classmates at Gitega's agricultural college. Li Col Minani confirmed that the army had killed several dozen people at the weekend, but said they were all Hutu rebels. Witnesses had a different story, underscoring the military's attempts to portray spiralling mass nurder as a one-sided genocide of Tutsis by Hutu rebels.

Hutus killed in wake of Burundi coup

The killing was set in motion when Hutu rebels attacked rice and coffee plantations near Mont Gisagara. The insurgems burnt offices and crops to hit Burundi's shaky economy. The army arrived the next day to burn miles of bush in an attempt to flush out the rebels. It

then turned on the local population. On Monday there were reports of more killings in the Mont Gisagara aren by the army. But it was unclear whether the military was confronting Hutu insurgents - who have infiltrated large parts of the province - or was clearing the overwhelmingly Hutu population from The US paid Burundi's military

eader almost \$150,000 over the past three years to promote democracy and peace, it was revealed last week. A significant proportion given to Maj Buyoya's Foundation for Unity. Peace and Democracy was to organ ise an international conference in Burundi, to include such notable peacemakers as Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The meeting was due to take place more than a year ago but has been repeatedly postponed.

Iran raid strengthens grip on northern Iraq

lan Katz in New York

THE TWA Boeing 747 that crashed into the Atlantic on July 17 probably continued to fly for up to 11 seconds after an explosion blew off the front of the jet.

URUNDI'S mainly Tutsi

Gunfire echoed through the capi-

After criticising deep divisions

within the Hutu-Tutsi coalition, and

its inability to tackle the civil war,

It also took control of state radio

banned demonstrations and strikes.

imposed a 7pm curfew, temporarily

cut telephone links, and closed the

airport and land borders. A former

Mai Buyoya told the nation: "Our

first goal is to stop immediately the

massacres and all forms of criminal-

ity that have prevailed in Burundi

for three years." The following day,

however, he promised to intensify the bloody civil war against Hutu

rebels while trying to convince the

international community that he is a

Belgian radio had earlier quoted

him as saying Burundi probably

needed outside help to solve its civil

strife: "Even though I'm a soldler, I

Explosion blew off front of

TWA jet, say investigators

don't believe in a military solution."

solid democrat committed to peace.

military dictator, Pierre Buyoya

the military suspended the parlis

ment and political parties.

was declared president.

The chilling picture of the last seconds of Flight 800 emerged at the weekend after crash investigators discovered the front of the passenger cabin more than a mile and a half from the rest of the wreckage.

The discovery has reportedly led investigators to conclude that the crash was caused by a missile or bomb exploding near the front of the aircraft, possibly in the front

An investigation source said it seemed some First Class passen- | floor off eastern Long Island. two approximately 11 minutes into | the point of the unexplained sound, | Iraqi Kurds.

they had found a 50ft section of the | we'll do our best to analyse what | fuselage, boosting hopes that they we've got," said Robert Francis, the might soon recover most of the 77 vice-chairman of the National Trans in its offensive. victims still unaccounted for, Robert | portation Safety Board. Francis, the vice-chairman of the National Transportation Safety gation came as President Clinton Board, admitted that some of the and his wife Hillary flew to New

force investigating the crash, said he | recovery effort.

thought enough evidence was being gathered from the wreckage to esablish the cause this week.

As FBi agents hunted for the terrorist who detonated the Atlanta oomb, Mr Kallstrom said he did not believe that incident was linked to the TWA explosion. Crash investigators hope "a frac-

ion of a second" of unexplained sound found on the cockpit voice recorder from TWA Flight 800 will solve the mystery of why the aircraft exploded and plunged into the Atlantic, killing all 230 people on

The noise comes at the end of one of the tapes from the two socalled black box flight recorders found amid wreckage on the sea

ers were thrown out of the aircraft | Officials said the conversation in its flight from New York to Paris.

At the weekend searchers said off. "We've got some stuff there and

The breakthrough in the investibodies may never be recovered. York to meet relatives of victims

James Kallstrom, the FBI agent in who have become increasingly charge of the anti-terrorist task angry about the slow pace of the

David Hirst in Beirut

RANIAN armed forces on Monday said they had concluded their milltary operations inside the Westnorthern lraq. The raid represented an almost contemptuous display of Iran's steadily growing influence in the region.

According to reports from Kurdistan, up to 2,000 Revolutionary Guards entered Iraqi territory at the weekend at various points and converged on the town of Kolsinjak, 50 miles from the frontier. Refugees were reportedly still fleeing their

Their aim was to destroy an anti-Iranian Kurdish resistance camp. Exiled Iranian Kurdish leaders and

Iran recently accused them of claimed on Monday to have killed dozens of "counter-revolutionaries"

the main player in the "liberated" Kurdish territory which the Westthe air since the Gulf war.

Provide Comfort has come to mean providing a platform for the mullahs o do as they please."

Among other things, the mullahs an give whatever support they hoose to anti-Turkish Kurdistan Workers' Party guerrillas en-trenched in the enclave. They are also well placed to deny the United States a part in managing President Saddam's overthrow and shaping he succession

Avatollah Bakr Hakim, the ranian-backed lraqi opposition eader, confirmed reports that Presdent Saddam had recently foiled a JS-Jordanian military putsch against

"The real meaning of his statement is the message it conveys to the US: if you have the right to try their families were living there I to overthrow Saddam, so does Iran by the explosion that tore the jet in | the cockpit had been "routine" up to | under the nominal protection of | --- and better means, too," said the pro-Western Iraqi politician.

The fratricidal struggle between attacks inside Iranian territory. It the two main Kurdish parties Massoud Barzani's Kurdistari Democratic Party and Jalai Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan — gave The raid shows that fran is now | Iran its great opportunity in north-

ern Iraq.
The US failed to mediate an end ern allies have been protecting from to the parties' conflict and they turned to Iran instead. As a result, "This is the idiotic result of US policies toward Saddam," said a pro-Western Iraqi politician. "Operation bureaus, all over the north.

The Week

SRI LANKAN troops launched an offensive on the northern rebel-held town of Kilingchchi, sending hundreds of civilians fleeing. Soldlers thrust to the outskirts of the town, in a push that followed some of the worst fighting in the war. It began two days after bombs, said to be planted by the Tamil Tiger rebels, killed 78 people and wounded 450 on a commuter train in Colombo.

Washington Post, page 1

AKISTANI police are holding 137 suspects after a bomb blast at Lahore airport killed at least four people and wounded

OUGH measures to crack down on organised crime in the Irish republic, after a wave of drug-related and terrorist shootings, have been rushed through parliament in Dublin.

BRITISH soldiers in former Yugoslavia have been warned to take extra precautions against the threat of male rape after a series of reported incidents in the Croutium port of Split on the Adrintic coast.

W OMEN'S average pay levels are still well below men's, despite a 50-year-old worldwide agreement that the sexes must earn equal wages for equal work, the international Labour Organisation said.

VAN MILAT, aged 51, an Australian roadworker, was found guilty of murdering seven backpackers in a remote forest southwest of Sydney. He received a life sentence.

UNDREDS of leftwing delegates from around the world including Danielle Mitterrand, the widow of France's former president - gathered in the outhern Mexican state of Chiapas at the invitation of the Zapatista guerrilla leader

IGERIAN police are to charge senior opposition leaders with conspiracy in consection the murder of the wife of the detained opposition leader, Moshood Abiola.

S PANISH police arrested three members of the Basque separatist group ETA, who they say were planning to consolidate the group's summer

O NE worker died and a small storage aren was contaminated by radiation in two incidents at a Ukrainian nuclear power plant, the country's nuclear energy authority said.

HIEVES entered a railway yard in central Montreal and drove off a truck containing one and a half million Canadian \$2 coins, weighing nearly 60 tons.

Juliet Hindell in Tokyo

NTIL a few weeks ago, few In the western city of Sakai

of the Escherichia coli colon bac-

terium. Now they are all too aware

that this ill-understood bug has

caused a mass outbreak of food poi-

soning, producing 100 new cases a day. The toll so far: eight dead,

including four schoolchildren, and

9,000 ill in 42 of Japan's 47 prefec-

tures. In Sakai itself, all but 200 of the

Sudan's youth

lessons of war

COR 13 years Sudan's south

tween the government army of the mainly Arab north and the

black African tribes of the oil-

a correspondent in Yambio.

rich southern provinces, writes

In recent years fighters of the Sudanese People's Liberation

Army have split into factions and turned against each other.
A week of foreible conscrip-

tion of young men by SPLA

leaders began with a midnight

round-up that continued until

males, aged between 14 and 40,

were herded to the local prison

for "screening". Those too old or sick were released; the others

new recruit. Those who resisted

were beaten. Wives or mothers

bore the punishment for those

Equatoria province, was called

the Garden of Eden of southern

Sudan. There used to be 60,000

cotton producers. Even today, it

is a food surplus area.

More than half the population of southern Sudan lives in exile.

Those who fled to Zaire and the

faced insecurity, and assistance

for Refugees has been reduced.

exile for four years and who lost

her menfalk to the conscription

return? Our Sudan la hopeless.

She is left with only her daugh-

ters; her brothers, aged 19, 17 and 14, had been taken. An

old man, too frail to fight, was

his sons and grandsons have

been rounded up. Most home-

steads are depleted of men,

leaving women and children

The new recruits, gathered

Square", were addressed by one

of the commanders. He told them his education had been in-

terrupted to fight for liberation

into units of 50 in "Freedom

left with 24 children — nine of

in June asked: "Why did I

from the UN High Commission

A woman who had been in

Central African Republic have

who managed to escape. Yambio, capital of Western

dawn. Schoolchildren were

targeted. In all some 2,000

began their new lives with

shaven heads, the stamp of a

has been the scene of war be-

face harsh

6,487 people taken ill are children.

had heard of the 0-157 strain

Struggle to save hunger strikers

URKISH doctors were striving at the weekend to save the lives and health of 170 leftwing prisoners moved to hospital after their hunger strike ended at the weekend. A 12th inmate died after the protest was called off, and there were fears that others could die or be left with permanent mental or physical disabilities.

A 10-week fast - a partially successful attempt to block the dispersal of political prisoners --- may also have inflicted lasting damage on the new Islamist-led coalition. The govcrimient was widely criticised in the Turkish media for its apparent intransigence as the death toll climbed into double figures.

But under heavy pressure from inside and outside the country, the authorities began negotiating through intermediaries and struck a deal which gave way on one of the protesters' key demands. Sevket Kazan, the justice minister, said he had agreed to move about 100 political prisoners to Istanbul and its cavirous from the Eskischic prison, 200 miles away. The hunger strikers had wanted the jail, known as The Coffin, to be closed.

Human rights campaigners said the latest victim died on his way to haspital from prison in the western city of Hursa.

A spokesman for the Peoples' Law Bureau, which represents some of the inmates, reported that 10 were in comm. "It is much too late to save them," he said.

At the weekend, about 2,000 polifical prisoners were reported to be refusing food, most of them members — or alleged members — of far left urban guerrilla groups. Kamber Oerkogak, a representative of Turkey's Human Rights Association, said all those who had died were awaiting trial.

The hunger strike began after the previous government — a coalition of secular rightwing parties — intro-duced a new policy for dealing with Turkey's 8,000 political prisoners. The measures involved dispersal to

The authorities have claimed ex-

John Palmer in Brussels

and Mark Tran in New York

THE European Union and the United States edged closer to a

trade war last week when President

Clinton endorsed a bill empowering

him to penalise companies investing

in gas or oil projects in fran and

The bill, introducing US sanc-

tions against the two countries that

torrarism follows the threatened

imposition of American penalties on

Iran condemned the US moves,

saying they were certain to prove

ineffective. "It's nothing new, just

the continuation of measures taken

by American rulers to pressure in-

dependent countries," the foreign

As the White House signalled

President Clinton's approval for the

bill, which has already been backed

by both houses of Congress, the

ministry said in Tehran.

non-US firms that trade with Cuba.



Police in Ankara beat a man during a rally that followed the death of

carry out terrorist training.

The protesters argued that dispersal would make it impossible for remand prisoners to defend themselves properly. Isolated in cells, they would be unable to formulate political responses to what the prisoners regard as political charges. Dispatched to distant jails, they would find it more difficult to con-

Underlying these concerns were fears of brutality. According to Amnesty International, seven politiisting arrangements keep prisoners | cal prisoners have been beaten to | be buried in accordance with their subject to the authority of their or- | death in Turkey's Jalls since last | own or their families' wishes.

The understanding was reached amid fears that the hunger strike was jeopardising Turkey's delicate relationship with the European

Within Turkey, several commentators were appalled by the way in

hibiting any EU company from co-

operating with US courts in cases

where US corporations take action

against them under the Helms/Bur-

The directive would allow Euro-

pean courts. The European courts

"This is a proposal designed to

such as Iran and Libya," a Commis-

sioner, Sir Leon Brittan, sald: "The

European Union shares American

ism. Europeans have also been the

The European trade commis-

extend it to cover other countries, laws."

pean companies hit by US sanctions

ton (anti-Cuban) legislation.

against European businesses.

sion spokesman said.

European Commission in Brussels | victims of terrorism in Lockerble

September. In 1989, two died of dehydration while being transferred from Eskisehir prison to Aydin, ir the southwest, in almost completely unventilated metal vans.

which the authorities - apparently fearing funeral demonstrations denied permission for the victims to

Europe heads for trade war with US

is close to finalising a directive pro- | the way to go about tackling the

concern about international terror gas field, has said it will continue

The British government has led the demand in the EU for effective European measures to counter US sanctions. The Foreign Office said: "We agree that there should be a killed 63 people common Western policy on Iran and As a huge manhunt got under Libya. But we cannot accept US

pressure on its allies to impose would be authorised to seize any as sanctions under the threat of sets in Europe held by an American mandatory penalties on our compacountries in the oil and gas sectors." The French government critirespond to the threat of sanctions | cised the US measure. A foreign

against our companies in the case of | ministry spokesman said: "We do trade with Cubs. But it will be open not accept the principle of extra- in the conflict since Mr Netsanto the Council of Ministers to territorial application of national The French oil company Total, which has investments in two oilfields in Libya and signed a \$600 million deal last year to raked with gunfire from a pass-

was discussing counter-measures. It and other incidents. But this is not | Battling terrorism, page 11

N Korea's torrential rains threaten new famine

ORTH KOREA has been hit by torrential rains only a year after loods devastated crops and brought nillions close to starvation.

Officials in the capital, Pyongyang, have called for efforts "to revent damage from great floodng", saying that up to 20 inches of rain has fallen over two days in parts of the country near the 38th parallel.

"Unexpected floods caused heavy losses of human lives," the official news agency said, and "seriously maged vast areas of the country. More than 60 people have already died across the border in South

The North's faltering economy was shaken by last year's floods, which led to an unprecedented appeal for foreign aid. The latest rains have hit some of the same areas as last year, including parts of the western rice belt in North and South Hwanghae provinces.

Recent visitors to the North sav famine has so far been avoided thanks to rationing and strong social discipline. But calorie intakes are at a minimum and there i severe deprivation.

In Rome, the World Food Programme has announced that it is expanding its emergency food aid operation in North Korea to feed L5 million people. Distribution is being expanded to include more than 500,000 children under the age tion continues about the strength of of five, who are most vulnerable to his political grip on the country.

malnutrition brought on by cuts in food deliveries by the state. The WFP will also continue to supply 500,000 of last year's flood victims and another 550,000 farmers and their families who are reclaiming damaged land.

In a bizarre episode on Monday at the border village of Panmunjom a North Korean soldier who had been swept by the floods through the demilitarised zone and into th south was returned home shouting "Hooray for the Dear Leader Kin Jong-il". Released after questioning by South Korean investigators, he was carried out of sight on the shoulders of cheering North Korean troops.

In the same village locals later watched a ceremony to hand over a casket containing the remains of a United States pilot shot down in the Korean war and now returned by

The remains were the first discovery by a 10-member US team operating in North Korea. The tenn's presence in the country is seen as a fresh sign of gradually improving relations between the US and North Korea, but its neighbours agree that an abrupt collapse of the Kim Jong-il regime could destabilise the East Asian region.

Two years after succeeding his father, Kim II-sung, Kim Jong-il has still not assumed the full titles of party and state leader, and specula-

Israelis hunt drive-by killers

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE Israeli prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, has ordered troops to seek out and destroy a Palestinian militant cell after two Israelis were killed

in a drive-by shooting. The attack took place in Israel, but the government strongly hinted that troops would be allowed to pursue the gunmen into West Bank areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority.

Within hours of the shootin the Israeli army had scaled off borders with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and ordered tens of thousands of Palestinian workers in Israel to return home.

The government had only recently begun to relax a ban on Palestinian workers, imposed after a wave of suicide bombings in February and March that

way, Mr Netanyahu insisted that the Palestinians to the autonomous areas must also do more to combat the militanta. Authority act to quash the terror of the terrorist organisations, without distinction," he said.

The first Israeli civilians killed vahu took office on June 18 were in a car 10 miles within the socalled green line — which marks Israel's pre-1967 border with Jordan - when the vehicle was

develop an Iranian of shore oil and gas field, has said it will continue undeterred.

Uri Munk, aged 60, and his daughter-in-law, Rachel Munk, were killed instantly. His son, Ze'ev, was critically wounded.

Mr Netanyahu also linked the latest killings with the deaths of an army doctor and medical orderly between Hebron and Bethlehem in the West Bank in

Israel Radio reported that the gunmen are most probably linked with the radical secular group, the Popular Front for the iberation of Palestine. Meanwhile the Israeli foreign

secretary, David Levy, has demanded that the Palestinian Authority closes three offices in Orient House in Arab east Jerusalem, Israel Radio said. The report came as the US

peace envoy, Dennis Ross. began a meeting with the Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat, in the Gaza Strip. Mr Arafat denied knowledge

the shooting, but was quick to condemn the border closure. This is another breach of what has been agreed upon," he said:
• According to authoritative reports in the Israeli press, Mr Jewish colonisation of the West Bank. He wants to build settlements along the so-called bypass roads linking existing Jewish townships in the territory.

have seen larael expropriate

since 1987.

Ironically, the bypass roads were built by the previous Labour led government to leasen friction between the 145,000 or so Jewish settlers and the 1 million Palestinians of the West Bank.

and that now it was their turn. As the men set off into the The reported expansion plans have outraged Palestinians, who bush they marched to battle aongs, but the women sang funeral laments — no one returned from the previous conscription. more than half of the West Bank

Japan battles with killer bacteria

The public is angry, frustrated and frightened — angry over what s believed to have been an inadequate official response, frustrated by a lack of information, and frightened by the bug's elusive and deadly nature. It is suspected that the bacteria contaminated primary school lunches, yet extensive tests on 1,500 portions distributed to 90 schools, including eel sushi and cold noodles, have been negative.

It's not just that the sushi shops Parents have been enraged to are going out of business or that raw liver is off the menu for all but learn that key samples were thrown away untested by health officials. They also want to know why food the most reckless gourmets. Japan

fears it is losing a battle with a was delivered in unrefrigerated deadly enemy which threatens the trucks and left unchilled in school competence of the State itself.

kitchens until catering staff arrived each morning. Many feel the nega-

tive test results reek of a cover-up. In only one case has the cause been pinpointed. A boy in the Kanagawa prefecture west of Tokyo became ill after eating raw liver at a restaurant. Samples from the consignment contained the bacilli. Since then, sales of raw liver - usually a summer treat - and raw fish have fallen by about 10 per cent.

The health ministry, already under attack because of the infection of haemophiliacs with Aids, has been accused of complacency. A special Cabinet panel has been

exhorts cleanliness — an otiose commandment in a country obsessive about hygiene. The health minstry has ordered a nationwide inspection of slaughterhouses, and officials in western Japan decided on Monday to distribute antibiotics.

The authorities have turned t the United States and Europe for help, and experts from the National Institute of Health in Washington will arrive in Tokyo this week.

an Olympic broadcast and showed

instead a programme on prevention.

The authorities have closed school

swimming pools and are urging

A banner flown from a small plane

people to cook meat thoroughly.

bug: what is exceptional about Japan's experience is its virulence. The strain was first recognised as a problem in 1982, but did not bare its teeth until 1993, when four people died in the US after eating undercooked hamburgers. There are about 80 outbreaks in North America every year, and they also occur in Australia, Africa and Europe. The bug's deadliness derives from its duplicity: it has borrowed a new gene to make shiga toxin, which causes shigella dysentery when carried by

Much is aircady known about the

a different bacterium. This toxin, when combined with E. coli's ability to proliferate in the intestine, can trigger the signature symptoms - watery followed by bloody diarrhoea, which can lead to haemorrhaging, kidney damage and death, — The Observer



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Cruel bill makes poverty a crime



The US this week

Martin Walker

OR MOST of the last year, we have heard of the splits in the Republican ranks, usually over abortion. And one of the most striking features of the political scene has been the rare unity of the Democrats in Congress. Under the leadership of Toni Daschle in the Sennte, who was by no means a popular or enthusiastic choice, the Democrats have learned to block, delay and toss procedural spanners in the works as if they were graduates of the Bob Dole school of opposition factics. And in a sense, they were. Having gnashed their teeth for years at Dole's ability to tie the Democratic majorities in knots, the Democrats are having fun as they learn that the art of defensive play is in work as team.

Last week, however, the teamwork slopped. The Democrats in the Senate split down the middle. The welfare reform bill was passed by a margin of 74-24, with 23 Democrats voting against and 23 voting for the bill. President Clinton is all in a dither, trying to work out whether he dare veto this cruel and callous Republican bill.

Clinton's problem is that he promised on the campaign trial four years ago to "end welfare as we know it". He had loss of other anappy slogans about welfare. "A hand up, not a hand-out" was another, and there was one about "A breathing space, not a way of life". Too many slogans; not enough legislative ideas. Not having been able to craft an acceptable bill, he is stuck with the versions being churned out by the Republican

The Republican bill that was devised in the House was described last week in a New York Times editorial as "odious". It would end the 60-year tradition, going back to the Great Depression, that in the last resort the federal government will intervene to feed children and their mothers if they face starvation. agreed this in principle. He has also agreed the second principle, to impose a limit on the amount of time anyone may receive welfare. "I'wo years and then either find a job, or take the job we will find for you," is what he used to say on the camnaign trail.

In Republican hands, that be comes simply the blunt weapon of two years and then welfare just stops. The Republican bills provide little of the funds or structure required to give people the remedial education and training they need, while on wel- and its "dialogue partners" that fare, to get and hold down a job. Far | the United States will raise less do the Republicans envisage the | human rights, and that the sum-

kind of public works and public em-ployment schemes that would be needed to give substance to Clinton's airy promises.

Perhaps some of the welfare folk will respond to this bracing regime, buckle down to work and school, and become poor but respectable citizens trying to make a life on the minimum wage. But many of the lumpen poor may make do as they always have, by begging, by prosti-tution and by petty crime. This richcat of countries already has a programme for that: Clinton's extra 100,000 police on the streets, along with the world's biggest prisonbuilding programme since Stalin

Responsibility for the poor, under the Republican bill, reverts to the states, and the tax-hating states of the South and West are not known for their generosity — least of all to ethnic minorities. They may slash their welfare payments and impose new rules to disqualify most welfare applicants - and the federal government will be unable to stop them.

"We shall have children sleeping on grates," says an angry letter from a group of six Democratic Senators. While admiring their outrage, it should be said that one finds men and women sleeping on grates any night of the year in Washington.)

The bill would also strip Medicaid, the subsidised medical service for the poor, from not just illegal but also from legal immigrants, until they become fully fledged citizens. The House bill would destroy the food stamp programme, which was crafted in its current form by the then Senator Dole of Kansas, and his close friend, the liberal Democrat George McGovern. There was bi-partisanship in those days, particularly when it served the interests of Dole's Kansas farmers.

The House bill imposes a 90-day maximum period for which workers below the age of 50 may receive food stamps. As Congressman Ed Markey noted acidly, that would mean that an apprentice who is laid off for three months at the age of 21, collects food stamps and then works steadily for the next 28 years paying his taxes until he is made redundant, would no longer qualify for food stamps.

The Senate version of the bil softens the harshest aspects of the House plan. It drops the Medicald ban for legal immigrants, but curtails the services they may receive.

Nick Cumming-Bruce

T HE American secretary of

state, Warren Christophe

between West and East - which

indicated last week that the

battle over human rights

dogged discussions about

Asim and Pacific foreign

Burnin at the conference of

ministers -- may also cloud

December's Singapore summit

ference of the Association of

Southeast Asian Nations (Ascan)

of the World Trade Organisation.

Mr Christopher told the con-

in Jakarta



It makes no allowance for the provislon of anything but food for children of parents whose welfare has run out. No clothes, No shoes. No medicine. The Senate bill also caps the total amount that the federal government will pay to the states each year to fulfil what may mockingly be called their obligations. So when the welfare rolls lengthen, as they doubtless will in the next reces-

sion, there will be no more money. The Senate bill, which Clinton may feel constrained to sign under the pressure of imminent reelection, would affect 13 million Americans, of whom 9 million are children. At least I million children would be thrown, at once, into serious poverty. Honest workers who are sacked in this downsizing economy will find, for the first time in their lives, that they are not entitled to food stamps to help feed their children. Elderly parents from India or Mexico or Poland who have come, legally, to join their legal immigrant children working in the US will be evicted from nursing homes, and turned away from hospitals. And the really poor, those getting \$6,300 or less a year, get a 10 per cent cut in their real incomes

thanks to a \$600 reduction in their food stamps.

The Republicans have an excuse They take pride in being the hardnosed and hard-hearted party, and they need to save this money in order to continue giving tax cuts to the better off, or to cut capital gains taxes for those wealthy investors on whose sturdy shoulders US prosperity depends

President Clinton has no excuse to sign this cruel and savage mea-

Washington to raise rights at trade summit

mit should look at "the relation-

He told US businessmen is

also pursue the issue of bribery.

which he said costs American

companies tens of billions of

Mr Christopher said the

tax deductions for illicit pay-

ments. The US would press its

main trading partners to make

Washington's stance is op-

good on these commitments.

posed to that of Singapore and

Organisation for Economic Co-

operation and Development is

already trying to curb bribes and

dollars each yenr in lost

Jakarta that Washington will

ship between trade and core

labour standards".

and he is one of the world's most persuasive politicians. From the speeches he made in the 1980s. when he helped craft a far better velfare reform plan in hearings before Congress in the Reagan years, Clinton understands the welfare issue better than almost any other politician in the country.

And to be frank, it is not very difficult. There will always be poor people. Some will never have the skills or the will to respond to education and training and join the ranks of the employed. For these people, the alternatives are: lock them up, find them make-work jobs, feed them and try to forget them (the current system), or watch them starve, as a useful example and deterrent to others.

HE Republicans are well down the road to that last option. The first two options are expensive, the first probably more costly in the long run. A president with Clinton's skills could carefully explain why the second option is self-evidently the right thing to do in a society that honours work and self-reliance.

Rather than seize such a nettle, 100 days before the November election, Clinton will do what he always does; he will seek a deal. He will wait until the House and Senate their two bills, and bargain for more funds for children and for legal irnmigrants, and maybe for a four-year review process to ensure that the states are not being too wildly divergent in their welfare allocations.

He will get one, perhaps two, o

Its Asean partners, which want

to keep non-trade issues off the

Ascan was supported at the

minister, Alexander Downer,

who said the summit should

atick to trade liberalisation.

child labour — is sensitive

among Asean members, whose

thrived from competitive exports

isation estimated that nearly one

in 10 Indonesian children aged

tiger economies have mostly

produced by cheap workers.

International Labour Organ-

A report in June by the

between 10 and 14 works.

conference by Australia's foreign

The labour issue - covering

imum wage levels as well as

WTO summit agenda.

these demands. He will probably settle for something that he can say helps children, and rely for the rest on his growing hopes that he will beat Dole by such a wide margin that the Democrats will regain rna jorities in both House and Senate in lovember. Clinton will probably wring just enough of a compromise to reduce liberal outrage to tolerable evels, while avoiding Republican meers that he failed to live up to yet mother promise to reform weltare. Clinton is good at this fancy footwork, which helps him get reelected but leaves his fellow Democrats wondering what on earth heir party stands for these days. The two Senators from Massa

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

husetts, both Democrats, illustrate omething deeper about the party's filemma. One of them is Senator Edward Kennedy, who is gaining wesome stature as the last liberal. the leader of what was once the preominant tendency in US politics. Sennedy, who is not running for reelection this year, is firmly against the welfare bill. Senator John Kerrey, who does face re-election in lovember, voted for the bill.

Senator Kerrey, a Vietnam war veteran, has been a centrist Democrat. He supports cutting capital gains tax, is openly sceptical about affirmative action to help minorities, and has been sympathetic to whites who profess themselves vicims of job preferment for blacks. Unlike Kennedy, Kerrey is Clintonian sort of Democrat.

But then his opponent in the Sen te race, Governor William Weld, is Clintonian sort of Republican. Veld is fiscally conservative, and great believer in tax cuts and balanced budgets. He is also socially iberal, supporting abortion rights for women, equal rights for gays and affirmative action for blacks. For the moment, Weld has the fatter campaign war chest. But Kerrey married Teresa Heinz, widow of his Senate colleague John Heinz, who was nulti-multi-millionaire from baked beans. It will take deep pockets to outspend the Kerrey campaign.

The Massachusetts Senate race i important, not just because a Weld victory might help the Republicans to keep a majority that they fear losing elsewhere, but because it speaks volumes for the way American politics is heading. Kerrey versus Weld pits two centrist Clintonians against each other, with only nominal party tags to differentiate them. Indeed, Governor Weld has proposed in his state just the sort of velfare reform that Clinton could swallow: 60 days on welfare for healthy mothers with older children to find a job. On the basis of his vote for the Republican bill to reform welfare, Senator Kerrey should have few problems with that.

So the 23 Senate Democrats who voted with Kennedy against this ap-palling welfare bill are the liberal rump. The 30-odd Republican Senstors who can be counted on to vote for the most absurd measures to prevent abortions are the rightists. And the real power is wielded in the middle by the Clintons and the Kerreys and the Welds, who don't believe in anything too strongly, except the need to keep the old ship of state bobbing along, under the reliable directions of helmsmen like

And if those unruly people travelling steerage start complaining, they can always put them in chains. They are a tough bunch on law and order these centrists. Look at the way Weld rose in the polls after his proposal to stop parole for convicted criminals. It can't be long before Clinton takes up that vote-catching wheeze.

Portillo outguns Chancellor to secure £3.5bn defence deal THE BRITISH defence industry | Church, and that included the indiswas given a pre-election boost by the Government when it was awarded a package of contracts worth £3.5 billion, which will create or sustain a minimum of 5,000 -

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

The Week in Britain James Lewis

skilled jobs.

The decision to spend the money was a victory for the Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, over the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, Both men would be contenders for the Conservative party leadership if John Major were to fall by the wayside. The Chancellor had fought strenuously to defer the announcement, hoping that some of the con-tracts could be pruned or put on indefinite hold.

and possibly as many as 10,000 -

When the Cabinet postponed approval of the contracts earlier last nonth, the Treasury seemed to have won. But the Prime Minister, pressed by a number of Tory MI's whose constituencies are dependant on defence contracts, sent in his deputy, Michael Heseltine, to re-solve the dispute. Applying the political arithmetic of jobs and votes, he came down on the side of Mr

British Aerospace (BAe), which gets the £2 billion contract to re-build and modernise 20 Ninrod maritime patrol aircraft. In partnership with the French firm, Matra, BAe Dynamics also gets an £800 million order for air-launched Storm Shadow cruise missiles, similar to the US Tomahawk. And GEC-Marconi Dynamics gets a £700 million contract for Brimstone anti-tank

AEDOPHILES who abuse children while abroad will face prosecution in Britain under proposed legislation announced by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard. The move comes amid concern over paedophiles who travel to countries such as Thailand and the Philippines for sex with child prostitutes.

The number of prosecutions, however, is expected to be few, since the rules of evidence require witnesses to appear in person to allow cross-examination. Home Office officials said it might be necessary to allow witnesses to give evidence by satellite link if they could not travel to Britain.

British courts are also to be given new powers to prosecute "foreign extremists" for conspiring or incitng terrorist or criminal acts abroad while they are in the UK. This could cover the activities of those such as the Saudi dissident, Mohammed al-Mas'ari, against whom charges of inciting racial hatred were recently

A N OUTSPOKEN attack on the Queen was made by William Oddie, a former Anglican priest and Catholic convert, who accused the monarch of "petty Catholic spite" and of sacrificing Christian principles for a "damage limitation exer-cise" in urging the Prince and Princess of Wales to divorce.

Writing in the Catholic Herald, Dr Oddie said that, as Supreme Governor of the Church of England he Queen was bound to hold, and not undermine, the teachings of the

solubility of marriage. "All Christians now have to ask how much longer she has the right to our loyalty," he said.

The marriage breakdown of three of the Queen's children and the "cubabitation" of the fourth had transformed the Royal Family's symbolic support of the family, based on marriage "into an even nore powerful blow against it".

Middle-of-the-road Catholics were quick to distance themselves from Dr Oddic's remarks, pointing to the "warm relationship" in recent years between the Queen and the ender of British Catholics, Cardinal Basil Hume. Others thought the Catholic Herald was only bringing nto the open what Catholics were thinking in private.

Harry Coen, the acting editor, defended the article and called for the disestablishment of the Church of England.

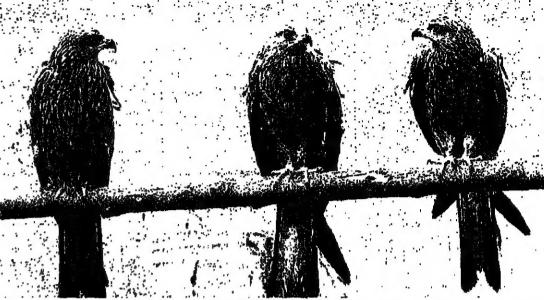
P TO 4,000 frozen embryos, from about 900 couples, were due to be destroyed this week because the parents cannot be contacted, have shown no interest in the fate of their potential children, or do not want them any more.

The destruction has to take place on July 31 because Parliament ruled that from August 1991, embryos could be frozen for only five years. The regulations have since been relaxed so that embryos can be stored for 10 years — and, in exceptional circumstance, even longer — but only if the parents wish it.

Ruth Deech, chairwoman of the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority, which regulates clinics holding the embryos, said failure to obtain consent "means, sadly, al lowing a number of embryos to perish". Demands by prolife groups that the embryos should be given to childless couples, rather than destroyed, were dismissed by Mrs

Deech as legally and ethically wrong. She also announced that the authority is to end payments to egg and sperm donors after controversy over high sums offered to some women, it emerged last year that women were paid up to £1,000 to act as "human hens" by donating eggs to childless couples. The payments were made via an agency that exploited a loophole in the law intended to prevent commercial





Three of the red kites released by the RSPCA at a secret site in the Midlands. Shot to extinction i

Bridgewater appeal granted

ICHAEL HOWARD, the Home Secretary, signalled a surprise change of heart last week when he announced he was referring to the Court of Appeal the convictions of four men jailed for the killing of newsboy Carl Bridgewater in 1978.

Staffordshire police, which led the investigation, and the Director of Public Prosecutions office are brance for an uncomfortable hearing. Lawyers representing the men are certain to allege misconduct.

They will also point out that the Home Secretary's decision came just before a legal challenge to his refusal do so began in the High Court. Mr Howard said in a provisional ruling in December that he was "not minded" to refer the case. Last week, he said it was going back "on a fine balance of the arguments".

It was the first time a Home Secretary has offered such an opinion on a referral. The hearing may not take place until next year.

One of the convicted men. Jin after so much waiting all he could do was take it as just another day. The experience had been "a terrible thing, not just for us but for our familles . . . it smashes you up over the

Ann Whelan, aged 53, mother of Michael Hickey, another of the ailed men, said: "I had come to beieve that the Home Office was not

lustice. Everyone will see these men

The men's previous appeal insted it days before it was rejected in March 1989. A welter of fresh evilence has since been gathered, ilthough Kenneth Clarke, Mr Howard's predecessor, proclaimed the convictions safe and satisfactory in February 1993.

lived, he would have been 31. Brian Bridgewater, his father, said re-

Maiesty's Pleasure.

Robinson, said from prison that

he was upstairs. centre of the referral. Four laninterested in right and wrong. This day is a victory and a triumph for guage experts back Molloy's claims that it was a police. fabrication. A

forensic asychiatrist called in on the exonerated after 18 years." Home Secretary's behalf agrees.

An internal Home Office document shows officials knew he had been held unlawfully for 56 hours without access to a solicitor. He said he was assaulted. What appears to have swung the

balance is the persistence of Michael Chance, lawyer in charge Carl Bridgewater, aged 13, a of the prosecution. He has written several times to Mr Howard, admitnewspaper delivery boy, was shot when he interrupted a burglary at ling the decision not to disclose lin Yew Tree Farm, Wordsley, Staffordgerprint evidence was prejudicial to shire, in September 1978, Had he

That opidiance was released only in 1994 when Mr Nichol secured it cently: "Just occasionally, I think, 'I through a High Court ruling, it wonder what the boy would be shows police found two unidentified doing now?""
Mr Robinson, now 62, and Vinfingerprints on Carl's bike, which had been tossed into a pig sty. cent Hickey, 42, were jailed for life

Mr Nichol's trump card, though for murder at Stafford crown court will be the appearance of jury n November 1979, with a recommembers. The appeal court's test is whether new evidence might have mendation they serve a minimum swayed the trial jury. Tim O'Mal-25 years. Michael Hickey, 34, Vinley, now 48, the foreman, and Lucent's cousin, was 16 at the time of cinda Graham, 36, are both now the killing and was detained at Her convinced of the men's innocence. Pat Molloy, a father of five, was A £200 million emergency prison given a 12-year sentence for building programme was an manslaughter. He died in prison in nounced last week to improve secujune 1981, aged 53. His appeal wil rity and to cope with a rapid rise in the jail population triggered by Mr

e addressed with the others. Howard's "prison works" policy, I Molloy received a lesser sentence after making a statement admitting will be partly funded by cuts in conhe was at the farm when Carl pensation payments to victims of vi olent crime. Bridgewater was shot, but claiming

The prison population has riser y more than 1,000 in the past four weeks alone to bit a record 55.85) five years earlier than was officially

Ulster talks left in the air on way to proceed

The Molloy confession is at the

Peter Hetherington

up on Monday without any agreement on how to proceed in September after a six-week summer recess.

Amid bitter disagreement and recriminations between Unionists and nationalists over decommission ing terrorist weapons, the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhow, and Ireland's deputy prime minister, Dick Spring, admit ted that progress had been much slower than expected.

Dublin and London will be bitterly disappointed that after seven weeks of largely informal discus-

sions, lasting more than 40 hours, the nine parties in the peace ULTI-PARTY talks on the fuwhich will allow them to talk.

But they cannot bring themselves to approve an agenda that will determine what they talk about when discussions resume on Sep-

Sir Patrick denied that the talks had been in peril. While he would have liked more progress, critics had to remember that this was a process that had to overcome livisions going back centuries. Therefore it is not surprising that progress is slow. What is encourag-

government was fudging over the hand-over of weapons, "We want to pragmatic way," he said But the route is proving clusive

Mr Spring denied that his

The Ulster Unionists and the Democratic Unionists want decom missioning at the top of the agenda while the nationalist SDLP, the cen trist Alliance Party and the smal loyalist parties linked to paramili-taries believe this is a factical ploy to rule out Sinn Fein.

Unionists argue they have been let down because, they claim, the British and Irish governments promised early discussions on the ing is that progress has been made." I hand-over of terrorist weapons.

crease in annual spending.

The move could mean severe cut

backs in promised spending on so

cial policy, energy development

consumer protection, the environ-ment and development aid. Any re-

ductions will be opposed by European Parliament members, al

though governments say expendi-ture will hardly be affected because

spending remains below budget.
 The Treasury's bid to put the

squeeze on spending ministers this

autumn was given weighty backing last week by an International Mone-

tary Fund report on the British economy, which called for expendi

ture cuts and no Budget giveaway.

With the clansour on the Conserv

ative right mounting for income tax

reductions in November, Chancellor Kenneth Clarke took the unprece-

dented step of publishing the results

of the IMF's 10-day investigation into

According to the IMF, infrastrue

ture projects have borne too much

of the recent cutbacks, and current

spending needs to be targeted for

reductions. 'There appears to be no

scope for tax cuts in the forthcomine

the UK conducted this month.

second-largest net contributor to the | Non budget. The agreement pre-EU budget, it is now one of the small- | vents, for the first time, a real in-

est, partly because Britain is one of

The decision by Brussels to repay about 10 per cent of the annual EU

budget could be followed by a fur-

ther bonanza next year if, as ex-

pected, the EU continues to spend

The underspend reflects reforms

in the Common Agricultural Policy,

and the virtual disappearance of Eu

rope's food surpluses. In addition,

economic aid to eastern Europe and

the former Soviet Union has been

one's top priority now is to be in

shape for monetary union, and this

is showing up in the debate about European Union spending," a senior

German diplomat said, "We may

have to go through this budget

trauma for a year or two before we

can look again at longer-term spend-

ment came as EU budget ministers struck an accord slashing £2 billion

from the 1997 budget. The Commis

sion had proposed an overall 3 per

cent increase, but most EU govern-

ments wanted a freeze in the £65 bil-

Confirmation of the big repay-

ing plans for the European Union."

The simple truth is that every-

well below its permitted ceiling.

the poorest countries in the EU.

Blair puts squeeze on Labour rebels

Michael White

HE Labour leadership last week survived the latest test of Tony Blair's authority when Labour MPs buckled under and voted to keep Harriet Harman in the shadow cabinet team that he wants to fight the coming election.

Not only did the embattled shadow health secretary survive the private fury of many backbenchers over her decision to send her younger son to a selective grantmar school, but Jack Cunningham, who lost his place last year, bounced back to take the vacancy left by Joan Lestor's decision to

stand down.
Though Ms Harman was well down the field with 149 votes, she was 55 votes clear of Ann Clwyd, another ex-shadow cabinet member who had been backed by some MPs to oust Ms Harman.

In the snap election, called early to prevent a divisive autumn campaign, there was scant consolation for six other backbenchers who

winners got more votes than usual and women took top places. Margaret Beckett was again first with 251, closely followed by Ann Taylor (250) and Clare Short (218).

But Ms Short launched into an apparent attack on the Labour leadership after Mr Blair rewarded her with demotion. After her best ever showing in the annual poll, the leftwinger was moved from the high-profile transport portfolio to overseas development.

The move was part of Mr Blair's effort to tighten his white-knuckled grip on the shadow cabinet

Ms Short, writing in the Daily Express, said she had always believed n public service, and had not until recently faced up to the "full nastiness" in politics. She criticised its 'vanity and ego, manocuvrea and

Many MPs may judge the move prudent after Ms Short's remarks on tax, the need for a debate on

plen so close to the real battle with | sues, more alarming to spin doctors | spokesperson on women's issues. than to voters.

Two key Blairites were also shifted. Ma Harman and Chris Smith swapped jobs, Ms Harman taking on social security and Mr Smith health. It prompted some MPs to claim that Mr Smith had paid the price of his defence of child benefit and other aspects of social security entitlements from Gordon Brown's desire to target some payments in favour of the poorest.

Some backbench eyebrows were raised at Mr Blair's appointment of Alistair Darling, one of the shadow cabinet runners-up who did not stand last week — at the leadership's behest - to be shadow chief secretary in Mr Brown's team.

Mr Blair is planning to promote three high-profile women MPs deapite the furore over Ms Short's "nasty and hurtful" demotion.

The Labour leader is set to make Tessa Jowell, MP for Dulwich since 1992, Mr Smith's new deputy at health. Janet Anderson, the MP for Rossendale and Darwen, will step legalising cannable and other is linto. Me Jowell's shoes as lacceptable, but not if it is presented

A TO MILE POSTING

WLEE E

Nor is the spectacle of leftwing MPs such as Alan Simpson and Ken Livingstone using Tory tablolds to promulgate anti-leadership views. In the Mail on Sunday, Mr Living-

In a further shake-up, the MP for stone likened the voting to "the ok Soviet Union where everyone got Hampstead, Glenda Jackson, a Prescott campaigner in the leaderre-elected by near-unanimous votes". ship contest, is set for promotion to Mr Dewar is writing to a number a campaigning role. So is Neath's Peter Hain, and Kevin Hughes, MP

as 50 MPs attacking the leadership

of MPs who "overstepped the mark" accusing the leadership of "strong arm tactics" and "rigging" the po for the shadow cabinet.

 In his last pre-election reshuffle. Mr Major rewarded loyalty and punished the Tory Eurosceptics promoting a clutch of party whips.

He replaced Tim Eggar, the flam boyant Steve Norris and David Heathcoat-Amory, the unexpected joker in the reshuffle pack, with three loval ministerial upgrades and promoted a clutch of ex-whips in a 14-strong mini-reshuffle confined to the lower slopes of office.

To mitigate a dull package, Mi Major bid for tabloid headlines by making Jacqui Lait, 47-year-old MP for Hastings, an assistant whip.

As the first of her sex to penetrate the boys' locker room of the Tory whips' office she is assured a

Sport for all

Both are loyal modernisers.

for Doncaster North.

The Labour leadership is plan-

ning to isolate persistent trouble-

makers within the party's ranks at

Westminster — by accusing them of being in "unholy alliance" with the

Conservatives to attack Mr Blair.

and by stressing its commitment to

much wider two-way consultation

with backbenchers if Labour wins

The usually emollient chief whip,

Donald Dewar, is writing to some

MPs assuring them that the leader-

ship does not want to stifle genuine

to be "constructive" and free from

personal attacks.

lebate, but does want such debate

Thus, an attack last week on the

proposed EU single currency by

Labour Eurosceptics is regarded as

BBC governors reaffirm Birt's | restructure of World Service

Martin Linton

THE governors of the BBC decided last week to push ahead with their restructuring plans for the World Service after Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, or-dered that a working group be set up to assess the impact on the quality of the service.

in a terse statement at the end of an exceptionally long meeting the governors defiantly "reiterated their belief that the World Service plans would yield significant benefits, enhancing the quality of services and reducing costs".

According to the BBC, the governors instructed the board of management, represented by deputy director general Bob Phillis, to continue work on detailed organisational planning. The chairman, Sir Christopher Bland, has already agreed not to take any irreversible

steps before the BBC-Foreign Office working party has reported on the plans in October. But according to John Tusa, a former World Ser-

the genuineness of the whole work-

were keeping their heads down,

ment structure really, which is not going to affect people on the ground very much," were the soothing words from a BBC spokesperson.

But there was no attempt to deny that the governors had been taken aback by the strength of feelings against the restructuring plans, including the 240 MPs who have opposed the plan.

ing party with the Foreign Office". After the meeting, even gover-nors known to doubt the wisdom of director general John Birt's plans

"It's just a change to the manage-

Inquiry into Nazi gold deal

THE Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifland, has agreed to launch an inquiry into what happened to Nazi gold left in Swiss bank vaults after the war, and worth more than £1 billion at today's prices, writes Martin

Documents declassified by the United States national archives ulation the Swiss were left holding German gold estimated to be worth £1.7 billion at today's prices. The US, Britain and France believed that of this, at least £800 million, probably £1.2 billion, and possibly all of it, was looted.

But a letter from the Swiss legation in Washington in 1946, suggests that the three Allies agreed to a deal under which the Swiss paid them a total of £250 million at today's prices — well below the minimum estimate of looted gold - and kept a similar Labour MP Greville Janner wrote in June to Mr Rifkind and the Defence Secretary, Michael Portilo, asking whether British Intelligence had any documents about this secret deal. Mr Rifkind replied on his and Mr Portillo's behalf that "none of the intelligence services is aware

of having such information". Mr Janner show that the British embassy in Washington was closely involved in the negotiations. A letter from the embassy to the US treasury, market "strictly confidential" and dated January 1942, revealed that Reichsbank officials had delivered 21 tons of gold to the Swiss city of Basic.

The Foreign Office reacted by saying that Mr Rifkind had agreed to make further inquiries.

The issue is being pursued by the Holocaust Educational Trust of which Mr Jauner is chairman.

vice managing director, the state-ment cast doubt on the pledge. He said it showed the plans were a fail accompli, and "casts doubt on

Major's tycoons covet welfare offices

David Hencke

WO of Britain's wealthlest prop-erty developers — both members of Tory fund-raising clubs with direct access to ministers - are fighting each other to buy up Britain's social security of fices before John Major calls a general election.

Millionaire developer John Ritblat, a member of the Tory fundraising group, the Millennium Club. nounced on Friday by Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary. His company, British Land, valued at more than £1.5 billion, is the third largest property conglomerate in the country

Mr Ritblat is a member by Invitation of the 60-strong Millennium Club, whose incinbers pay £2,500 a year for access to ministers.

He is challenging Tory property tycoon, John Beckwith, who chairs the Premier Club, where wealthy business people pay up to £100,000 to dine with Mr Major. Mr Beckwith has secured backing worth \$1 bil- on benefit.

lion from a United States insurance company to buy up the offices.

Both groups are already short-listed to buy 58,000 Ministry of Deence homes, due to be sold later his year for more than £1.6 billion. Confidential minutes of a meeting held with management advisers to

Mr Lilley reveal that Mr Beckwith wants to buy all the social security property in England and Wales. According to the minutes, Mr mered the pattle and expects | Beckwith says that it is a "good time | £750 million for the Government to be on the shortlist, to be and to be planning a transaction of this nature and size, because of the large amount of capital available

globally for major deals". The sale of the social security offices, including the headquarters at Quarry House, Leeds, and management centres in Newcastle upon Tyne, will offer huge opportunities for property developers.

Some of the more lucrative high street locations could be resold and converted into upmarket shops on condition the developer provides alternative accommodation on council estates, where more people are

short-listing of a consortium headed by Beckwith Capital Partners fo the MoD estate in May.

Last week after being challenge

in the House of Commons by Labour MP Peter Hain, Mr Major said: "No one can buy access to mi isters, no one is promised favours. The planned bid for the social

The minutes also disclose the

Mr Beckwith was highly critical o

Defence Secretary Michael Por

tillo's handling of its approach t

buy the MoD estate with another

consortium involving Hodge plc an

Lehman Brothers (BHL), an Amer

The MoD was said to be running

the sale badly, with several bidding

consortiums breaking apart and \$

poorly thought out 'shortlisting

can investment bank.

security offices, which will be put up for sale next year to raise at least OT deaths could be reduced under Beckwith Property Fund Management with chartered sil veyors Richard Ellis and the Unite ment-funded report. States insurance company AIG.

> THE Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, Keith Hellawell, called for brothels to be legalised saying that licensed brothela would get prostitutes off the streets, allow health checks, and mean earnings could be taxed.

for covering up evidence for

more than 20 years that a priest had sexually abused leenage boys.

A N ALLEGATION by the failed lottery bidder Richard Branson that he had been the subject of a bribery attempt was dismissed in a report by the lot-tery's regulator, Peter Davis.

IEUTENANT Colonel Colin Mitcheil — former commander of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and Tory MP — has died, aged 70.

LMOST 2,000 women school meals workers were awarded more than £1 million because the former Cleveland county council cut their weekly pay by between £5 and £50 to beat private rivals when tendering for the service.

HE Government is to review the use of plastic bullets by the police in Northern Ireland along with the RUC's handling of marches and parades.

SIR Peter Hall, who founded the Royal Shakespeare Company, has been appointed artistic director at the Old Vic Theatre in London. He is to establish a repertory company with a nucleus of 15 actors.

'Revolutionary' shake-up Europe sends back £500m of civil justice tackles costs

John Palmer in Brussels

HE Government's belea-

last week when Brussels revealed

that a massive underspend last year

will allow it to pay back more than

£500 million into Treasury coffers.

The windfall - part of a £7 billion

repayment to all 15 European Union

members - will swell the Govern-

ment's finances and help cushion

spending departments from reduc-tions deemed necessary to ensure

While the European Commissi

decision will make it easier for Ger-

many and France to achieve the

tough conditions for monetary union, it will also allow the Chancel-

lor, Kenneth Clarke - the Cabinet's

leading pro-European — to mount a

counter-offensive against the vocal Eurosceptic wing of his party.

The repayment will offset at least half the £1 billion cost this year of

culling cattle after the BSE scare,

and will be exploited to dampen

anti-European sentiment following

the resignation of the Treasury min-

Although Britain was once the

ister, David Heathcoat-Amory.

pre-election budget tax cuts.

guered Euroenthusiasts re-ceived a much-needed boost

and Larry Elliott

Clare Dyer

ABLUEPRINT for a revolution in the English civil justice system to curb delays, cut costs and make it easier for individuals to enforce their rights was unveiled last week by Lord Woolf, Master of the Rolls.

The far-reaching package of re-forms, which follows a two-year investigation by the former law lord, is the most radical shake-up ever of civil justice in England and Wales and will require a dramatic change in the culture of litigation — taking control of the system away from lawyers and giving it to judges.

The proposals are geared to tackling costs, which Lord Woolf called "the most serious problem besetting our litigation system". Fear of costs deterred people from litigat-ing, compelled others to settle against their wishes, enabled the powerful to take advantage of the weaker and had an adverse effect on the scope of legal aid.

Key elements of Lord Woolf's "new landscape for civil justice" include hands-on case management by judges, incentives to settle cases early, penalties for dragging them out, and a "fast track" simplified procedure with caps on lawvers' costs for claims under £10,000. For claims over £10,000, and complex cases under that amount, judges will manage cases closely and costs will be monitored by the court.

Lord Mackay, the Lord Chancellor, gave an enthusiastic welcome to the proposals, signalling the Government's intention to implement them speedily. A bill giving power to make new simplified "plain English" court rules to replace existing ones | per cent of cases.

is expected to be introduced in th autumn, but most of the changes will not require legislation. Sir Richard Scott, the Vice

Chancellor (head of the High Court's Chancery division), has been given the extra role of head of civil justice to mastermind the reforms. A group has already been set up in the Court Service Agency to implement the changes.

Extra resources will be needed to train judges and introduce computeriaed systems to monitor cases, but Lord Mackay hopes to cover most of the costs by savings from settling cases earlier. The reforms are intended to dovetail with plans to overhaul the legal aid scheme.

Launching his 369-page report, Access to Justice, Lord Woolf said; "We have to change from a situation where litigation is being conducted for the benefit of lawyers, to . . . i being conducted for the benefit of the litigant." The present system is down everybody, from individuals to multinationals, he said, "I think the Government will give this high priority."

Consumer and legal groups, including the Law Society and Bar Council, welcomed the proposals but warned the reforms would need to be properly piloted and resourced.

sonal Injury Lawyers said the proposals would deny injured people access to justice and increase inequality between them and defendants' insurance companies.

In Brief

ARDI GRA, the bomb-maker who has attempted to extort millions of pounds from Barclays Bank, has turned his attention to Sainsbury's super-markets, Scotland Yard revealed

THE Crown Prosecution Service faced criticism for "bungling" the investigation into the Marchioness riverboat disas ter after it closed the file on the tragedy because there was insuf-ficient evidence to institute further criminal proceedings.

THE Princess of Wales was left bereft of senior advisers after Jane Atkinson, her key media aide, resigned six months before the end of her contract.

by two-thirds if smokers with newborn bables gave up the habit, according to a govern-

A SCOTTISH Judge criticised the Roman Catholic Church

However, the Association of Per-

Research for Lord Woolf showed that for high court claims up to £12,500, one side's legal costs exceeded the value of the claim in 40

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TCOULD just as easily have happened anywhere - in Manchester, Tokyo or Colombo for example - for no city in the world today is safe from the bomber. It could have been for any cause, for obsessive madness now performs on a global stage. But the fact that it has happened at Adanta during the Olympic Games, in a city currently inhabited by more journalists and broadcasters than any other on the planet, means that if is an event which outrages the whole of mankind. Such a cruel assault is a shock to one's faith in human nature, cellpsing memories of Munich in 1972, because at least then the horrors seemed to have some deranged but vestigial connection with the real world. Even amid this most commercially exploita-tive of international gatherings, this bombing feels like a besmirching of the world's innocence.

There is no colculus of cruelty by which it is possible to say that one senseless killing is worse than snother. There are shocked, bereaved and indignunt people this week in places like Burundi, Indonesia and Turkey, for whom the events in Atlanta inevitably seem secondary. But for all their numy faults, the Olympic Games remain one of the few practical expressions of global fellowship to have survived (more or less) this most destructive and intolerant of centuries. Compared with univer-an peace, justice and equality, doubtless the Olympics rank for down the list of ideal internstional aspirations. They are tarnished in many ways, but they are, in the end the embodiment of the good side of the human spirit. The bombing strikes right at the heart of the capacity for optimism about our future.

The most striking thing, at least from outside America, is the fact that this event puts the United States on a par with the rest of us. After the bombings of the World Trade Centre, Oklahoma City and TWA800 — not to mention the Waco siege and the whole Unabomber saga — the bombing of Atlanta helps to underline that ideological terrorism is America's problem too. The particular lesson of Atlanta is that a violent culture reaps what it sows, but there are no simple answers to violence. And it is inevitable that the British will experience some schadenfreude at the fact it has now happened in America, a country that has been particularly quick to lecture Britain about the ease with which our own problems could supposedly be solved. The reaction is instinctively and unconditionally sympathetic, but there is also a voice that says "At last they know what we're talking about".

We have to acknowledge that the more seriously the world takes the Olympic Games, the more they are likely to reflect the world and become a target themselves. The Olympics provide an instant the atre in which the determined fanade can secure a worldwide audience, inside or outside the arena.

The weekend's events will have been watched with particular anxiety in Sydney, host city of the next Olympic Games in 2000. Australians will instinctively assume that Centennial Park could not happen in Sydney. But that is what they thought about Dunblane before the Port Arthur massacre about Dunbiane before me Fort Arthur massacre, and the recent court case following the New South Wales back-packer serial killings only acts as a further reminder that Australia is not immune from any threat. The grim truth is that nowhere is entirely safe from lone men bent on violence, and that someone, somewhere, will see even the world's greatest sports festival as a justification for their own pathological anger.

The sickness of a tiger

NDONESIA has become, almost overnight, a I huge question-mark in the heart of Southeast Asia. Doubts over President Subarto's health have fused with the visible evidence on the streets of popular unrest. The flaws in this much-touted advertisement for the Asian formula of authoritarianism plus globalisation are auddenly revented. Ordinary people do not like the enormous disparities of income, the pervasive corruption, and the clumsy political repression that goes with it. The assumption that Subarto could lead his country into the next century looks naive or sycophantic; now the question is whether he can really shake John Major (or John Major), as he'll survive to the end of his current term.

Critics of the regime have long argued that Western governments have shown far too much indulgence for Suharto ever since he presided over the bloody anti-left purge of 1965-66 and engineered the removal of the late President Sukarno. Savage repression in East Timor — to which no one could shut their eyes — is too often regarded as an aberration, almost cancelled out by the "miracle" of rapid economic growth. Now it is time to submit conventional wisdom to much closer scrutiny. Is it just that an ageing leader (shaken by the recent death of a much-loved and dominant wife) has lost his grip? Or was there always something fundamentally wrong with the

Suharto clearly made a tactical error in instigating the removal of Megawati Sukarnoputri (daughter of the former president) from the leadership of the Indonesian Democratic party (PDI). Long used to manipulating the tame "opposition", he failed to see that this would create an issue around which the emerging pro-democracy movement could take shape. Ironically, Megawati only entered politics three years ago at the behest of Surjadi, now her rival as PDI leader. She is now being discarded because she has done too well and might even run for the presidency in 1998. The hollowness of Indonesia's democratic façade could not be more evident. Yet the real significance is the way that this affair has become the catalyst for a much wider range of popular discontent. This year has seen a revival of student militancy and workers' demonstrations in which political issues are increasingly linked to economic complaints. Much of Indonesia's growth is based upon low wages and poor working conditions. Though living standards have improved for many in the past decade, the extent of corruption (most blatantly among Suharto's family and friends) provokes general anger. Significantly too, the leader of the powerful Muslim party of the Ulamas, Andurrachman Wahid, has let

it be known that he supports Megawati.

Those who have applieded the Indonesian model uncritically should look hard at the dissolution of other authoritarian regimes such as South Kores and Taiwan. The transition in recent years from straight military rule to guided technocracy creates new contradictions. Democracy deserves support as much in Indonesia as anywhere else. and it is shortsighted to back the regime that suppresses it. British sales of water-cannon - now being used to disperse demonstrators in Jakarta - and of dual-purpose Hawk jets, which have seen action over East Timor, are indefensible. History has a habit, sooner or later, of settling accounts. Suharto has long had a reputation for listening to soothsayers. Could there be a deeper reason for his unwise purge of Megawati? She is, after all, her father's daughter, and there are many thousands of unpropitiated ghosts from the Sukarno era, which was so bloodily destroyed.

What an idea!

MAZING! Women horse-owners tend to prefer their steeds to their men! Asked how they'd choose if given an ultimatum, 73 per cent in a sample of 1,000 women who own horses say they would keep the horse rather than the man, according to a survey carried out for a new magazine called Gallop!, (Doesn't say who conducted the survey: Gallupi, perhapsi)

How many readers of Gallop!, we ask ourselves, would still buy the magazine had this title been merely Gallop, without that increasingly ubiquitous ahriek stick? The problem here is more subtle than that of the Aberrant Apostrophe (as in Apple's and Cabbage's), so long cherished by green-grocers, but now apreading like bindweed through much of our public life. There is nothing grammatirather than Gallop, or Hello! instead of Hello, or OKI, or Herel. Live TV is another matter, but at least it's not Live TVI. But what baffles the Guardian Weekly -- which, we would like to make clear, has no immediate plans to change to the Guardian Weekly! - is what publishers expect to gain. Perhaps they think it makes the product sound spicier. Perhaps it's the sort of idea that plays well in focus groups. Perhaps in the case of Gallopi it's specifically meant to represent the sort of invigorating jolt one experiences in the saddle when a gallop is under way. But now that the habit has entered the currency, worse may soon be under way. Socialist Workers, for instance, may be probably be by then)!

A land split right down the middle

Martin Woollacott

HEN the killing resumes in some part of Africa, Western countries slip into familiar oscillation. They swing between blaming themselves and blaming Africans, between urging

and opposing military intervention.

The problem is the usual one. It is not that we do not care but that we care in bursts, so that policy becomes a series of last-minute rescue efforts. Thus it is with Burundi, where a coup has underlined the general neglect of a crisis affecting large area of Central Africa. That crisis endangers not only Burundi but Rwanda and Zaire.

A partly international war is being waged in the region between extremist Hutu groups and mixed Tutsi and Hutu governments. Rwanda still has a relatively moderate government; Burundi has had a mixed government caught between a Tutsi army and Tutal political forces trying to maintain Tutal power and physical security by covert means, and armed lutu extremists.

The new regime there has endorsed the principle of ethnic peace, but is also calling up Tutsi youth for militia service. An intensified camaign against Hutu rebels is likely. The Tutsi-dominated security forces have failed to distinguish between Hutu forces and civilians in the past. It may be, therefore, that this coup is disaster. But caution is advisable, since there already was a disaster in Burundi, and in the region as a whole. The problem is less that the international community has failed to act, than that it has failed in the nanagement of the broader conflict.

When the Rwandan Patriotic Front's forces won in that country, the Hutu regime's troops, most of the leadership and up to a million of its people fled into Zaire, with some going to Burundi and other countries. In Zaire, unopposed and not much noticed by the international community, the Hutu leaders turned the refugee camps into a social base for war, apparently with President Mobutu's acquiescence.

They escaped the consequences of heir well-deserved defeat in Rwanda. They ethnically cleansed that part of Zaire of Tutsis and of other ethnic groups. From there they have struck into Rwanda, killing government officials, and have offered training to the Hutus of Burundi.

Their influence on the Burundi rebels can only be of the most poiso-nous kind. The extremist Rwanda Hutus undoubtedly see this as a war that will end only with the overthrow of governments in Rwanda and Burundi and their replacement by requestion" by a combination of

killing, displacement and oppression. For all the atrocities Tutsis have carried out in Rwanda and Burundi, they must in the long run be more disposed to compromise, as well as more concerned with security. As minorities, they cannot otherwise survive. The perpetual oppression of the Hutu majority, whatever was tried in the past, is not a serious option now. Tutsis in Rwanda understand this well, Tutsis in Burundi, whose dominant position has only been diluted, less well. Hutu leaders, by contrast, can think in terms of getting rid of Tutsis, or of displacing | sometimes open doors.

them completely from all positions of power, privilege or wealth. Some still do, and they are calling the shots, lit erally, in Zaire, and parts of Burundi They would do so again in Rwanda i they could. This war is not a sense ess affair, or one in which outsiders should have no sympathies.

The international communit would have done better to have prevented the creation of a Hutu extremist base in Zaire, to have pushed much harder for the return of refugees, and to have given far more funding to Rwandan government projects. There should have been more money and help for the war crimes tribunal, which has moved with terrible slowness.

Swifter justice would have sig nalled the end of a time when lead ers, Hutu or Tutsi, could get away with murder. And a aquaring of accounts would have helped relations between Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda To help Rwanda become as much a model of Tutsi-Hutu normalisation as possible, and to root out Hutu extremists in Zaire - these should have been the aims. Had they been achieved, the situation in Burund would have been less dangerous Instead, little was done about Zaire while in Rwanda relations between the government and international agencies have been difficult.

Many have urged a peacekeeping force for Burundi. The UN secre tary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali, first urged that one prepared last year. He repeated h proposal to the Security Council is lanuary, but the US, whose logisti cal resources are vital to any opera tion, was negative then and has

FORCE for Burundi has been on and off the agenda ever since African leaders, meeting at Arusha last month, secured agree ment from the Burundi presider and prime minister to the creation of such a force. Indeed, that agreemen may have precipitated the coup.

Most Tutsi leaders have seen th ntroduction of an internation force into Burundi as likely to less to "their" army being disbanded o reorganised and have therefore re sisted it. It was a proposal to make the army ethnically balanced that led to the 1993 coup and the assassi nation of the first freely elected, and first Hutu, president of Burundi.

The former US ambassador

Burundi, Robert Krueger, said in cable that reached the press thi spring that "in an obscure country i the heart of Africa, the killing is proportionately vastly heavier than wha the cameras are covering lin Lebanonl; or indeed almost any gimes that would solve the Tutsi I the equivalent of an Oklahoma City bombing every day, he calculates Stephen Solarz, a former Congress man, has argued for the US to take the lead in an intervention, supply-

ing everything but fighting troops. If there is to be military interven tion, it should be the instrument of a coherent policy. The painful evolu-tion of Burundi's Tutsis has taken them to the point where they see that control of the armed forces cannot guarantee their security. The most significant fact about recent violence is that as many Tutsis #8 Hutus have died. The Tutsis are desperate, and desperation can

The land of the amateur bomber

In America a nut with a home-made bomb poses a more insidious threat than foreign fanatics, writes Ian Katz. Below, Richard Norton-Taylor and lan Black report on how governments are combining forces in the war on an increasingly sophisticated foe

Centre bombing, Americans shuddered with the realisation that international terrorism had arrived on US soil. After Oklahoma City, they were horrified to discover that their own country's wide open spaces harboured a threat just as chilling and Indiscriminate. But after the weekend bombing in Atlanta, the shock had been replaced by dismay. Everywhere, the conversations were the same; oh no.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

There are plenty of reasons why the Olympic attack surprised few. The attractiveness of the Games as a terrorist target has been so widely reported that Americans might have been surprised if no one had tried to breach the event's \$50 million defences. At the same time the boasts of organisers that Atlanta would be for two weeks "the safest place in the world" seemed almost to throw down the gauntlet to the On top of that, Americans have

terror on the brain. The Atlanta bombing came barely 10 days after TWA flight 800 mysteriously burst into flame and plummeted into the ocean off Long Island, and just weeks after a car bomb ripped through a US barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 American soldiers. Crash investigators insist they have not established the cause of the Flight 800 disaster but most Americans had reached their own conclusion long before the first pieces of wreckage had been fished

from the Atlantic. The readiness of Americans accept that a US airliner might be ombed out of the sky, or, even more strikingly, shot down by a missile less than 100 miles from New York, showed emphatically that the penny of terrorism had finally

rorist problem is very different to he one faced by the Israelis or the British. In the US and in Israel, the threat comes largely from known highly organised groups with politi-cal agendas and rational, if irrationally pursued, objectives. It is possible, if difficult, to wage a war against Hamas or the IRA. Inform ers can be planted, intelligence gathered. The same applied to terror groups of the seventies such as the Red Brigades in Italy and the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany.

terror campaign in the name of a screwball ideology.

point fingers abroad when terror struck. The World Trade Centre bombing showed them there was no shortage of Islamic fanatics willing to take massive risks to spill the blood of their imperialist nemesis.

HIS time it was very differ- | dropped in the United States. Peo-ent. After the World Trade | ple no longer react to news of the ple no longer react to news of the latest outrage with the bemused admission that they thought such things happened only in London or lerusalem. Terrorism is now an American problem, too.

In fact, however, America's ter

But the terrorist threat facing the US is at once less coherent and more difficult to combat. It comes from without, and within, from hitherto unknown Islamic groups such as the self-styled Movement for Islamic Change, which claimed responsibility for last November's bomb attack on an American barracks in Riyadh, and from ingenious psychopaths such as the Unaomber, willing to wage an 18-year

In the past, Americans were auk k

But the reaction of officials and the public after the Atlanta bombing showed the lesson of Oklahoma City had stuck. The FBI said it was working on the assumption that the culprits were American. The caller, who had telephoned a warning shortly before the blast, sounded



oldiers inspect cars outside a garage in Atlanta as security is stepped up after the explosion in the

like "a white American male". The explosive device had been primitive deadly.

The chilling truth which the Atanta bombing may come to confirm is that the US is now a nation of amateur terrorists. Massive, ethal bombings of the kind we are familiar with in Britain may be rare, but smaller, often botched, attacks have become commonplace. Just days after the TWA explosion, a pipe-bomb was found on the runway at Chicago's O'Hare airport. Barely a month passes without some small explosion outside a public building in Nevada, Arizona

The number of terrorist plots thwarted by good police work or, more often, happenstance is just as chilling. Early last month it was the Viper Militia, a suitably menacingsounding crew of rightwing fanatics which, the FBI claims, planned to mount a massive bombing campaign against government build-ings. A few weeks earlier it was Kelly Sean Spencer, discovered with four pipe-bombs after an explosion in his Oklahoma motel room.

Back in April it was two militia men near Macon, Georgia, hoarding bomb-making equipment that may or may not have been ear marked for the Olympics. At the same time police routinely happen on arms caches that would equip an entire guerrilla arıny.

Most of America's new breed of 1 the Unabomber. New York detechome-grown terrorists are linked to tives were pressing on with their the Patriot movement, a loose all hunt for another serial bomber who liance of more than 800 extreme rightwing groups. The groups, as a decade, many as 400 of which characterise themselves as militias, are bound together by their loathing for the federal government and opposition to gun control. At the wilder shores of

United Nations plot to take over the Some believe merely that the US government has overstepped its auhority, that it interferes in parts of scople's lives that it was never mandated to regulate. After the botched FBI raids on Ruby Ridge and Waco, anger and suspicion hardened into hatred and paranoia.

the movement, adherents believe

the US government is trying to dis-

arm ordinary Americans as part of a

But the FBI's list of domestic suspects will by no means be confined o members of the militia movement. The technology of terror is so cheap and readily available that almost any kook or criminal can set himself up as a one-man Baader-Melnhof gang. In December 1994 an out of work computer program-mer planned to hold the New York subway hostage by threatening to detonate a series of firebombs on it. (His plan backfired, literally, when a

Even as the FBI was celebrating

has terrorised the city for more than The pipe-bomb, the type of device attack, is the weapon of choice for this new breed of amateur terrorist

reportedly used in the Atlanta Made from household materials. the most basic of them are as easy to put together as a DIY bookcase Almost every week there are reports of pipe-bombs being found by police. When detectives caught up with Herberto Seda, the so-called Zodiac killer, last month, they found a cache of them. Earlier this year one was found in the locker of a high school student in Providence. Rhode Island.

They may lack the organisation and know-how of the kind of terror groups we are more familiar with nut America's (reelance terrorist: may be even tougher to fight. The US has always placed great faith in technology. Terrorism, Americans believed, could be beaten with more satellite pictures and fancier bomb sniffing gizmos. But Atlanta had the biggest security force ever assembled on US soil and the most hi-tech equipment. They practised for nerve gas and nuclear attacks and hijacks. They wheeled out a command plane built for a nuclear war. But none of this, it seems, was match for a few pieces of pipe.

Global battle to be joined against terrorism

NTERNATIONAL efforts to combat terrorism were placed at the top of the political agenda this week by governments of some of the most powerful countries amid warnings that the nature of the threat has changed beyond recognition With the bombing at the

Atlanta Olympics, the apparent downing by a bomb of TWA flight 800 and a sudden resurrence of domestic terrorism on their minds, foreign and interior ministers from the United States, Canada, Britain, France Germany, Italy, Japan and Russia met in Paris to map out a response. Despite the shock of the Atlanta blast, they have had a degree of success with some recent initiatives, such as the arrest in France of suspected members of the Basque sepa-

ratist group, ETA.
"The fight against ETA terror is
naturally a Spanish affair, but also a French one," said France's Debré, driving home the core message of the meeting.

were expected to approve 25 rec ommendations for international action, including better sharing o intelligence, a crackdown on fundraising, and the marking of explosives and other sensitive cause of terrorism's increasingly diffuse and transnational nature, calls for closer inter-government co-ordination were anticipated.

As the state-sponsored organi sations of the 1970s have given way to amorphous networks especially of radical Islamic groups — so attention has shifted to closing loopholes in national asylum and immigration laws that allow terrorists to pperate across frontiers.

Britain is advertising practical measures that include amending a United Nationa convention whereby anyone planning or

funding terrorism can be refused asylum. It also intends to make it an offence to engage in conspiracy with others — or to Diplomats said the ministers incite others — to commit terro st offences abroad.

Britain is anxious to play a key role because it has been accused of providing a safe haven for

"All countries fear terrorism to varying degrees," said Bruce Hoffman, head of the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at St Andrews university. "But just as one country's terrorist is another's freedom lighter, so one country's terrorist threat is another country's distraction which they

wish would go sway."
Experience hus shown that, despite denials, democratic gov-ernments have engaged in clan-destine contacts with terrorist groups - the British government's secret talks with the IRA are one example.

And Britain's new antiterrorist proposals have already officials of the UN High Comnissioner for Refugees, who fear that they could be used against

genuine asylum-seekers.
"Proposals to criminalise dis sidents from other countries have real human rights concerns, particularly because there are a number of regimes all round the world who are actively involved in torturing and killing their citizens," soid John Wadham, the director of the civil liberties group Liberty.

The problem is recognised in a Home Office report. Some countries have no offence of conspiracy, so the situation could arise of a prosecution in Britain for activities relating to foreign countries where they would not be illegal.

Tighter security measures at airports are also part of the antiterrorist agenda. In the wake of the TWA disaster, President Clinton last week announced new airline security measures,

warning they would be expensive and inconvenient

"Physical measures will make t more difficult for terrorists but will not stop the threat," said Dr Hoffman. "The challenge for the terrorist is to overcome the new measures — it is never-ending.

He points to new terrorist techniques, including the use of microchips in bombs to extend timer mechanisms, and the moulding of plastic explosives into thin, easily hidden sheets. Current moves on terrorism

began in December 1995 at a meeting in Ottawa of the Group of Seven countries. They gained momentum at the Sharm al-Sheikh summit in March, convened after a spate of suicide bombings in Israel. It took the attack on US servicemen in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, to galvanise international efforts, leading to a ringing declaration at the G7 Lyon summit last month.

"The global response is the only possible response because you've got the globalisation of the threat," one expert said.

First Family takes care of business

OUR government ministers minigled in a crowd of thoumingled in a crowd of thou-annds at the launch in Jakarta of the Cakra and Nanngala, characters in the Ramayana epic whose names now adorn two sleek saloon cars. Organisers laid on statuesque models, traditional wayang puppet shows, dancers in old Javanese costume and a banquet for the hungry. Yet the host of the party, Bambang Trihatmodjo, second son of Indonesia's President Suharto, hardly

Local businessmen know 42-yearold Bambang as a reticent person. short of social confidence, who keeps his feelings to himself. But it was tempting to link his door demeanour on this occasion to the car wars with his siblings that threaten the short-term profits of his

Bambang is sinking a cool \$1 billion into making the two saloons in a joint venture with South Korea's Hyundai for a cost to customers of between \$17,000 and \$20,000. Unfortunately his flamboyant younger brother, Hutomo Mandala Putra, generally known as Tommy, pulled a fast one on him.

A decree issued by President Suharto in February allows 33-yearold Tommy to market a "national car" made entirely in South Korea without paying the usual duties on imported parts or an onerous 35 per cent luxury tax that hits other producers. As a result, the Timor, as Tommy's car is named, will hit the market in three months' time, selling for about half the cost of his

The ruling stirred a mixture of derision and indignation. "An example of nepotism and irrational decision-making on a grand scale," wrote David Roche of Independent Strategy, echoing a sentiment heard widely around the streets and offices of Jakarta. "It's a joke. They import a totally built-up car, sell it lo-cally and pocket the tax break," fumed an Indonesian business

Far more is at stake than Bam bang's or Tommy's profit margins. The saga of the national car has turned an unflattering spotlight on affairs at the heart of a family dynasty that now shapes the fate of 190 million people in the world's fourth most populous state, sprawling across 13,000 islands, two time zones and a vast wealth of natural

have surfaced at a more sensitive that President Suharto would fly to mate suggests they now control Europe for medical checks sufficed | assets of \$5 billion, another attrib | and businessmen were unaware of to drop the Jakarta stock exchange | uted to the CIA suggests the figure | the beating administered by troops 2.3 per cent, a sobering jolt for a 1 should be \$30 billion. "It wouldn't pops among emerging markets over much of the past six months.

The death in April of his wife of 48 years - and his closest confidante - only underlined Mr Subarto's own advancing years. After three decades of iron-fisted rule, trading democracy for order and economic development, the president, in the time-honoured tra- | \$600 million. dition of Javanese monarchs, shows no sign of surrendering power or revealing whom he would pick as his him to do so.

sultant. "Power has increasingly been centralised round one man, so the possibility of change creates a lot of uncertainty."

Hanging in the balance are the economic and social achievements on which Mr Suharto has staked his claim to a place in history. Out of the political chaos and decay bequeathed by Sukarno, the charismatic first president of independent ndonesia he forced out of power, Mr Suharto has forged the basis of

In the last 30 years, Indonesia bas struggled out of grinding poverty into the lower ranks of the world's middle-income countries, notching up enviable growth and seemingly destined for ever more spectacular results. The average indonesian knows he is better off than he was five years ago and stands to be beter off in five years' time," notes ING Barings' Bill Rolph.

No one has prospered more than the first family. The international airport you land at was built by Bambang, Indonesian analysts explain, mapping out the dimensions of one of the world's biggest business empires, with tentacles stretching to every corner of the economy.

The onward domestic flight you take is likely to be on the sirline owned by Tommy, or the cab you take into the city may belong to eldest daughter Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, known as Mbak (sister)
Tutut. The toll road that takes you into the city was built by her.

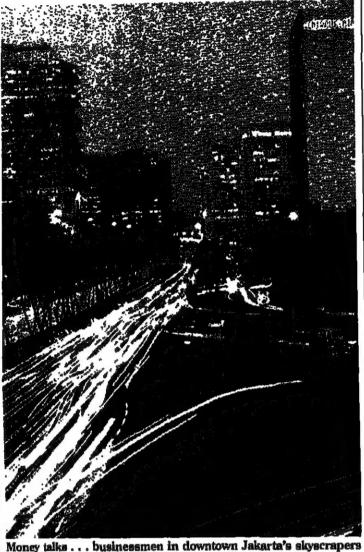
Eat noodles or drink Jakarta's bottled water, smoke a kretek (Indonesia's clove cigarette), buy a mobile phone or a Mercedes, watch stay in Jakarta's Grand Hyatt, one of its smartest hotels, or shop in the mall downstairs and you are contributing in some way to a business either owned by the family or by one of a tiny group of Chinese business magnates whose congiomer-ates are entwined with theirs.

Starting out from a modest trad ing company set up by Bambang 15 years or so ago, the children now market crude oil, run gas pipelines ship liquefied natural gas and build billion-dollar petrochemical plants. F-16 fighters purchased from the US are said to have come in through one family enterprise, the export of birds' nests for Chinese soup go out

hrough another. "Are they the richest people in the world? No one knows," consurprise me," the analyst shrugs.

Local researchers tracing the confusing web of interests believe Bambang is involved in at least 140 companies, with net worth of \$1.2 billion, and Tutut has links to 100 companies with even higher net worth of \$2 billion. Tommy came in n distant third, linked to 70 companies, with net worth of some

The children's dazzling business successes are a political headache. An acute difficulty confronting Mr Suharto as he ponders the possible candidates to succeed him, is find-



ests from the pressures most Indonesians predict will break them up or at least redistribute big chunks.

An outpouring of popular support for ex-president Sukarno's daughter Megawati in recent weeks starkly underlines the problem. Her mod est manners and unpretentious style is meat and drink to struggling workers and ambitious middle classes, weary of pervasive corruption and nursing long-smouldering

Heavy-handed military measure against Megawati have badly back-fired, and served only to enhance her popularity. "Never before in the history of the New Order has there been such widespread support for an opposition figure," warns Rizal Ramli, the economics analyst.

OCAL and foreign business-men are now keenly conscious that the government's handling of this issue casts a shadow over the performance of the economy. Sitting in Jakarta skyscrapers a few miles from the action, bankers Jakarta stock exchange, however, left no doubt of the impact of CNN film of the event on investors

Growing dependence on foreign funds to finance Indonesia's deficits leaves the economy more vulnerable to investor confidence than even a decade ago. "Capital inflows quickly could become capital outflows, putting pressure on the economy," the latest World Bank report drily observes.

If Mr Suharto and his children are sensitive to such concerns, they | he has done."

ing anyone sufficiently loyal and forceful to protect the family's intering down their accumulation of proappear to be accelerating it.

And popular dissent on the streets of Indonesian cities would matter less to the business community if it were not for the hairline cracks that hawk-eyed analysts now detect in the structure of the New Order establishment as a result of

The national car is a case in point. Bambang, less than pleased at Tommy's coup, lobbled for identical privileges, to no avail. Tutut also reportedly jumped into the fray, pitchng for a car venture of her own. onesia would soon have six national cars, local wags joked, one for each of Mr Suharto's offspring.

Japanese car manufacturers who nitherto have dominated the market and American manufacturers trying to break into it are, not surprisingly, unamused. The Japanese, in particu-lar, may have thought the \$1 billion worth of annual aid that their country gives might have earned a more sympathetic hearing. Both are threatening to fight the case in the World Trade Organisation.

The issue is even less amusing to pro-Megawati demonstrators ear- larly troubled by the lack of sound lier this month. A prompt dip on the | advice offered to the president and the controversial decisions coming stake is our national survival. The format of the New Order designed to answer the challenges of the 1960s and 1970s is no longer capable of dealing with challenges allead," asserts Dewi Fortuna Anwar, a political acientist. "President Suharto has done something quite spectacular. It is unfortunate his rather short-sighted favours for immediate family members could actually undermine the good things

Bank spends \$12m to avoid new Barings

THE Bank of England last week unveiled an \$12 million-n-year package of measures intended boost its supervision and surveillance operations in the wake of the

Barings investment bank collapse.
The Bank's deputy governor,
Howard Davies, said he believed the reforms would make it "more likely" that the Bank would be able to detect problems such as the one that brought down Barings. But it did not mean that bank failures were a thing of the past.

No system could prevent bank failures, he said. "Banks are in the business of taking risks. If they did not, there would be no point in having them. The aim is to create a banking supervision system which, as far as possible, reduces the risk of the failure of individual institutions."

The Bank's proposals are based on a report from consultants Arthu Andersen that looked at how the Bank conducts its supervisory and surveillance functions. The report which followed a nine-month study concluded that while the Bank should keep its existing system "where supervisors exercise i formed judgement within improved standards and guidelines", a serie of reforms should be implemented.

These included more resources in the division, including up to 45 more supervisors; better training more effective use of informatio technology; and tighter links between the aims of supervision and the process by which it was carried

A key part of the reform p gramme will be a risk assessme model, now being tested, which wil allow supervisors to draw up wha Mr Davies described as a "risk map" of individual institutions.

said: "The Bank believes it can afford the increase [in supervisor; costs from within existing r sources over the next two years because of savings elsewhere. The will be addressed nearer the time."

Labour's City spokesman, Alistain Darling, gave the reform package guarded welcome, while warnin that there was a limit to what the Bank of England, as the regulato

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

16.22-16.23 16.20-16.21 47.52-47.55 47.48-47.60 2,1375-2.1389 7.79-7.80 7.82-7.82 2.3028-2,304 2.3082-2.3077 12.04-12.05 11.98-11.99

.9619-0.9634 0.9618-0.9630 2.334-2,837 2.376-2.378 168.80-167.03 168.54-168.69 2.5848-2.5865 2.5891-2.5907 2.2413-2.2438 2.2279-2.2308 9.69-9.91 9.92-9.94 236.76-236.98 237.24-237.47 194,49-194.72 196,32-196,43 10.23-10.25 10.21.10.23 1.6727-1.8750 1.8797-1.8817 1.5495-1.5502 1.5577-1.5582

1.2202-1.2213 1.2250-1.2266 FTEE 100 Share Index down 2.5 et 3679.5. FTEE 380.

The Washington Post

Somber Atlanta Reels in Wake of Bomb

William Gildea in Atlanta

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

HE 'round-the-clock celebra tion in Centennial Olympics Park and in the downtown streets here gave way early on the day to an eerie stillness punctuated by the sound of sirens and surveillance helicopters. On the ninth day of the Olympic Games, rain and gray skies heightened the somber feeling that closked this

The park, a gathering place for the public that had been jam-packed during the first week of the Games, stood empty and several square blocks nearby were sealed off as police took tight control. Yellow crime-scene tape blocked access to the park and barricades were erected in the surrounding rain-glistened streets, which were strewn with debris that otherwise would have been removed by cleaning crews,

"It's not going to stop anything but it's going to quell the spirit. said Kevin Church of nearby Stone Mountain, a street vendor on International Bouleyard one block from the explosion, who reflected the mood of a heartbroken city, "It's definitely a setback. It's your worst fear. The spirit was growing - it really was. I love it here. I hope when people think of Atlanta they won't think of the explosion."

When people think of the Munich

Olympics, they often think first of the September 1972 tragedy that resulted in the deaths of 11 Israeli athletes and coaches after the storming of the relatively lightly guarded Olympic Village by Palesinian terrorists. That massacre changed forever the way Olympics and other international events were staged, heightening security to the extent that the Olympic Village at Georgia Tech is virtually a prison to protect against guerrilla harbarism.

No one here equated the exploin 1972. "It could have been a lot worse," Church said. "Athletes could have been involved." Still, residents, visitors and athletes seemed dazed. Thousands who were not at

Olympic venues walked somberly through those city streets still open



o pedestrians. Others stood behind | from around the world as "palpable". police barricades, simply looking down International Boulevard. which had been teening with people and now was scaled off and

"You look down there and you look up there," said Don Summerlin, pointing to the street clogged with people behind him while he stood at a barricade facing the vacant blocks, "I said, 'That's got to be where the park is, where the bomb was.' It got my attention,"

Atlantans consider these Olympics distinctly their own, because so many of them took part in the preparation, and now their pride has been wounded, their disappoint ment openly apparent. The park it only where people from around the world could gather, but also where Atlantans could offer what they consider their unique hospitality.

A.D. Frazier, a top official with the Atlanta Committee for the Payne, head of ACOG, told reporters, "We must reinvenate the Olympic Park was Payne's braingather free of charge and celebrate the Games. The site featured corporate exhibits, concerts and informal camaraderie, happy conversations among strangers, the exchanging of pins — a common practice in inter national sports events. Payne envisioned the park as the heart of the Games - and that's what it was until 1:20 a.m. on Saturday, when

the explosion literally rocked the A sense of urgency but not panic ensued as people were ordered out of the area by police. Hundreds already were leaving of their own accord, some pausing only to find friends or relatives from whom they had been momentarily separated.

Olympic Games, described the within a block or two of the explospirit of both Atlantans and visitors sion ordered their employees to

heave immediately and closed their establishments themselves as police area was being vacated completely. fronteally, the explosion was pos-

sible because of the park's easy access, which Payne intended so that people might get together easily and Atlanta could help define itself as a friendly place to heighten its profile internationally. The park is in no way secured like the venues. and stands starkly in contrast to the fortress-like Olympic Village, Ron Stallworth, a building engi-

County, stood in a garage doorway in the cordoned-off area, surveying the surreal scene. "People are angry," he said. "They're a little upset. But I don't think it's going to stop 'em. They're going about business in as normal a way as possible.

"The Olympics are very special to them because that's where all the people come together," Stallworth said, sensing that the terror would

Course in Bosnia **EDITORIAL**

A Better

A LARGE, wobbly policy edifice is being built on America's part in pushing Radovan Karadzic out of his official presidential office and out of his ruling-purty lendership slot in the

serb-dominated region of Bosnia. On that basis the United States s saying that the elections that were to take place by Septembe 14 now may legitimately go for ward. And on that basis, the American forces, and presumably he whole international peace keeping force, may be removed safely by the end of the year.

There is no denying the dra matic diplomacy of American Bosnia-peace negotiator Richard Holbrooke in coming back briefly from private life to help roll over the indicted war crimi the weight of Serbian President Karadzie's retirement from party dfice and public life a condition of the party's electoral participation. But Karadzie's undernocratic, rabidly nationalistic party now has been licensed, in effect, to contest the elections. It will deso, moreover, under leaders hand-picked by him.

And his accused partner genocide, Ratko Mladic, by mission has been confirmed as the Bosnian Serb military com mander. Both may consider themselves in an improved position to evade trial at The Hague.

It is true, as Holbrooke said that as long as the NATO-led peace force of 50,000 troops was unprepared to not Karadzie, Milosevic had little reason to arrest his protege turned-rival himself and "launch a Serb civil war." But under the new status quo, Karadzic's part; stands to prevail in th September elections, and to emerge acclaiming itself as the people's choice. It would then be in a position to add its voice to the many others, including the United States, calling for the peacekeepers prompt departure.

With the peacekeepers gone Bosnia's Serb and Croat statelets would be more or less free to pursue ethnic partition, and to ignore the Dayton promise t reserve at least the framework of an eventual unitary state. The United States would end up confirming the very principle of ethnic cleansing it meant to combat The better course is to arrest

Karadzie and Mladic, to encour age the more moderate elements among the Bosnian Serbs and to arrange some sequel to the in ternational peacekeeping force in order to lower the temperature while the country's institt tions are being constructed.

the Clinton administration's interest in Bosnia is simply to get it off the screen by the time of the security was extensive, but it ul- | the American elections, no mattimately is impossible to protect this | ter what was agreed at Dayton

Explosion Reveals Chinks in the Armor

Thomas Heath in Atlanta

A BOUT 1 a.m. on Saturday, the Atlanta Police Department received a bomb threat from a downtown pay phone. Target: Centennial

duffle bag and called bomb experts. During the next 20 minutes, hun-

lreds of people milled about the area where the bag was located. Then the bomb, made of three galvanized pipes wired to a timer, exploded in a rain of nails as the area was being cleared, killing one person and injuring 111 others. A television cameraman also died of a heart attack while rushing to cover

massive Olympics security system, ceremonies started.

"When you have such a large timately is impossible to protect this ter what was agreed at Day which cost \$227 million and in
If the determination is that the number of agencies and such a country from terrorism," he said.

sonnel policing the largest peace-time event in history. In this case, the warning from the 911 call may not have been passed through the various layers of communication in a speedy manner.

"There was a . . . delay before [the agent in charge of Atlanta, Johnson said his agency is "going to evaluate" whether police moved fast enough.

If the police should have moved more quickly, it's the second glitch in the security system since the Olympics began on July 19. A man dressed as a security guard and armed with a loaded .45 caliber handgun embarrassed officials when he penetrated layers of checkpoints at the opening ceremonies and reached a seat in Olympic Stathe nagging vulnerabilities in the dium. He was discovered before the

reason could be the patchwork of police agencies and the complex coordination system responsible for letting the left hand know what the right hand is doing. If something happens on state

property, an umbrella of 25 state agencies and 11 federal agencies is Police Department is in charge. Inside Olympic venues, the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG) has paid staff and volunteers to enforce house rules. If it's a federal crime, call the FBI or the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firenrms. "It's not your typical Atlanta day

when you call the Atlanta P.D. and they arrive in three minutes and take the bomb," said a federal law enforcement official who asked not to be identified.

particular challenge," said ACOG security spokesman Lynn May. The games have attracted mil

lions of spectators, 10,000 athletes, and police from around the world Police have already received about 100 bomb threats, none of which were genuine until Saturday.

With the bigness comes complants, and many of the foreign police officers who have assisted in ness with living conditions and the management of Games security. Some have walked off in the past week over disorganization and broken promises, according to several officers interviewed on Saturday.

Early in the games Mayor Bill Campbell boasted that the massive security apparatus in place would make Atlanta "the safest place in the

On Saturday, however, Campbell struck a different note. "I thought Otherwise, it will appear that

Tamil Rebels Resurgent in Sri Lanka

Kenneth J. Cooper in Colombo

HE ETHNIC separatist Tamil Tiger rebels have bounced back since government troops forced them from their stronghold in the town of Jasina last December and then from the rest of the northern Jaffna Peninsula in May.

The rebels' retreat into the jungle before more and better-armed troops raised questions about the fighting ability of the Liberation Figers of Tamil Eelam, who have sought an independent state to insulate Sri Lanka's mostly Hindu Tamil minority from discrimination by the nantly Buddhist Sinhalese

President Chandrika Baudaranaike Kumaratunga and Deputy Defense Minister Anurudda Rat-

Burundi's

Peasants

Want Peace

Stephen Buckley in Songo

waving as cars whip by.

hoes; others pick tea.

mostly civilians.

restore peace and security for Bu-

The peasants do not know

peace. But they do know that rebel

around his neck, a plastic bag

sacres have exhausted them.

and coffee.

Buyoya, a Tutsi, can, or will, bring

claimed more than 43,000 lives and slowed economic growth in this tropical island nation off India's

But the optimistic projections came before the resurgent Tamil Tigers inflicted on government forces their worst defeat of the civil war last week, overrunning an solated military base in the northeast and apparently killing more than 1,000 soldiers in a battle that as raced ever since.

As government reinforcements entered the devastated camp last week, two bomb blasts on a commuter train just outside Colombo. the capital, killed at least 63 persons in what appeared to be the rebels' violent way of marking the anniversary of the war's beginning terrorist bombing in the middle-class Colombo suburb of Dehiwala suggested that the Tigers have and regained the

The Sri Lankan military hustled to demonstrate anew its supremacy on the battlefield by launching an offensive last week, to capture Kilinochchi, the northern town where the rebels reestablished their administrative center after being flushed from the Jaffna Peninsula. Kilinochchi, just south of the peninsula, was where Tigers took hundreds of bodies of dead soldiers and handed them over to the International Red Cross to show off their

conquest of Mullaittivu. Government troops from the Elephant Pass base, backed by armor, artillery and air cover, had

The combination of the military moved to the fringes of Kilinochchi defeat at Mullaittivu and the at the weekend, the Reuter news at the weekend, the Reuter news agency reported. Military officials said 15 soldiers were killed and 60 wounded in the advance.

Aid workers, except for 30 associated with the Red Cross, evacuated the town. The government imposed an indefinite curfew in the area and urged residents to of worship.

A Defense Ministry statement

said the offensive was undertaken with the aim of destroying [Tamil figer] terrorists and their strongolds in the mainland of the Northern Province," a clear reference to

A Western diplomatic source predicted that government forces would capture the town, based on superior arms and firepower, but suggested a victory would lead to an occupation that would further stretch a military already spread thinly around the country.

The Tamil Tigers, among the world's most disciplined and effective insurgent groups, have specialized in well-planned and wellexecuted surprise attacks on military and civilian targets. The government's most overwhelmin lefeat of the civil war before Mullaittivu came in November 1993. when rebels overran the Pooneryn base south of laffna and killed 70 troops in a similar night assault,

The Tamil Tigers appear to have circulated petitions, entertained adopted a strategy of spreading journalists, demanded a law library their attacks around the country in and enjoyed martyr status as the an effort to keep government forces voice of the persecuted poor. off balance and divert them from their set military objectives. Besides a month early. But in or out, Kahn is sporadic assaults on military patrols a reminder to San Franciscans of a and Sinhalese settlements in the complex problem that simultaneeast, the rebels launched an unsuc ously mars the city's sophisticated ceasful attack on Colombo's port in April and threatened summer visitors to Yala National Park in the

Killing Off the Root

T IS a paradox of current politics Lthat the further removed an official is from the front lines of the war on crime, the tougher he is likely to talk. That is particularly the case when it comes to violence by juve

When Republican presidential acts for the most trivial reasons: a pair of sneakers or a football jersey."

When President Clinton rein ominous tones of the fact that in

Both said prosecutors should have much more leeway to try juveniles charged with serious crime as adults. "If a teen-ager commits a crime as an adult," Clinton said, "he should be prosecuted as an adult." Before eaving the Senate, Dole introduced egislation to allow adult prosecuons of people as young as 13 and the death penalty for 16-year-olds.

But when a cross-section of police chiefs was surveyed recently by Northeastern University's Center for Criminal Justice Policy on the effectiveness of four different approaches to reducing crime and vioence, the least favored option was the one Dole and Clinton have endorsed - and many governors already have put into effect. Only 14 percent of the 540 chiefs surveyed part of this group, told me that "the

more of them to adult prisons. About the same number said hir-

chiefs and three out of five in the overall sample said the best way to reduce crime and violence is to in nals as adults may satisfy current

Prosecuting today's teen crimicrease investment in programs that | political pressures, but we better be help all youngsters get a good start.

These findings were reported at a Washington press briefing recently criminals—or we are in big trouble.

Causes of Juvenile Crime

COMMENT David S. Broder

niles, a genuine problem that Americans rightly find alarming.

candidate Bob Dole talked about the issue in a radio address last month, he promised to crack down on these "merciless criminals capa-ble of committing the most vicious

sponded a few days later, he spoke the last two decades, "the number of iomicides by teens who have guns

chose the policy of trying more more scientific the study, the

ing additional police officers would be the best tool and a somewhat larger group said the priority should be making parenta legally liable when their children commit crimes,

But three out of every four big city

by a newly formed advocacy group, by veteran liberal activist Sanford Newman. The police chiefs of Chicago and Buffalo, the former chiefs of New York City, Detroit and Washington and the head of the largest police organization, the Fraternal Order of Police, attended.

A cynic might argue that the liberals and the chiefs — who are mostly mayoral appointers - baye ins found new rhetoric to support the old programs that pump federal money into the cities. But that view will not withstand the hardheaded sincerity of people like Gil Ker likowske, the Buffalo police chief who said "the preventive programs are getting lost because everyone (in politics] is trying to grow hair on his hest in this election year."

What he means is shown by the uvenile crime bill Dole introduced. t would allocate \$100 million a year or prevention programs run by community-based groups, and four times that amount for investigating, prosecuting and jailing juvenile offenders. But the whole \$500 million would be paid for by cutting "social spending neluding intensive after-school and family counseling programs.

James Alan Fox, the Northeast

ern University center's director, pre sented studies from the criminology literature showing that intensive early intervention programs can reduce the later delinquency and criminal behavior of at-risk youths by up to 80 percent.

I was skeptical about these cas studies. But John J. DiUlio Jr., o Princeton, a scholar much admired by conservatives and who was not tive the results . . . Programs that get responsible adults involved with at-risk kids can reduce later delinquency and crime.

Teen-agers now have the highest arrest rate for violent offense, and in the next decade the number of teenagers will explode - there are now 39 million children under 10.

right back to feeding people in pubdrugs, and their behaviour can lic. "How do you solve homelessseem menacing even to sympathetic ness? I don't know," he said. "But "I try to give them food rather people should not be penalised if

image of American Indians is being

manipulated is also germane to the

People may still talk of "Indian

Nations" but, in actuality, it is time

to emphasize that Indians are also

After I wrote a column last year

opposing the practice of U.S. ath-

etic teams being named after Indi-

ans, some readers asked me if it was

really worth my time and effort to

focus on the topic. I had argued

against the practice because such

names tend to set people apart and

use them as mascots. My point was

that in the most ethnically diverse

nation on earth, it is imperative to

Indeed, setting people apart

stances should anyone's heritage be

underscored for laughs or money.

When Indians are dehumanized,

they are turned into objects. As ob-

jects, they supposedly merit no par-

ticular respect or sensitivity. And

anyone who professes to ignore where this might lead might con

sider the logical extremity of such

Americans. They are U.S. citizens.

issue of American nationhood.

than money when I come out of the supermarket," said Laurel Suess, a resident in an upper middle class neighbourhood in the western part of the city. "But there's a quality of life issue too.

Mayor Brown has adopted a twopronged approach: building low-San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown, in office since January, has a continuous and improving the economy to provide jobs. He said he arrested. I'll not ignore that."

Mean streets . . . Many U.S. cities have adopted hardline attitudes proach, abolishing his predecessor's the November ballot to raise money or low-income units. npopular method of aggressive Andy Olshin, the mayor's copolicing to chase the homeless from adinator on homelessness, is

the urban centre (which resulted in pearheading a pilot workfare protheir shifting to the suburbs). gramme to pay people to clean parks for four days a week and re-Officials estimate 15 percent of the city's welfare population cive job training on the fifth day. about 10,000 - is able to hold a job. The rest might be mentally ill. Released from jail on parole, Robert Kalm said be intended to go disabled, alcoholic or addicted to

> they have no place to sleep." Brown agreed, and said the poor will be left alone unless they break the law. "It people violate the law --I don't care who they are -- the law

ing people is not like urinating or defecating in the streets. That's the

Japanese Are Dying For a Transplant Mary Jordan in Tokyo I IROFUMI KIUCHI'S heart

was failing him, and so was his country. With his life slipping away at age 23, his only hope was a heart transplant, an op-eration essentially banned in Japan. So Kiuchi, frail and near death, boarded a plane bound for Los Angeles. For almost 10 hours he sat strapped in a cramped airline seat tethered to oxygen, an electro-

rine, tended by three doctors. Four days later, on July 26, 1993, se heart of a young American trafie-accident victim was sever into K ichi at UCLA Medical Center.

cardiograph and intravenous medi-

Within a week. Kinchi walked out into the California sunshine, grateful for his life and bitter at the natio that would have denied it to him.

"I feel that I was supposed to be killed by Japan, by the Japanese government, Japanese tradition apanese culture," Kinchi said, "If ! stayed there, I would have died. know this." The only heart transokait in Japan occurred in 1968, and the surgeon who performed the opration was charged with nurderng the brain-dead donor.

Citing tradition, culture and reli gious concerns, Japan has rejected medical advances that have given thousands of critically ill people around the world a second chance at life. In Japan, the age-old definition of death - a stopped heart must be enforced," he said, "beedis still used, effectively making heart, liver and most lung transplants impossible.

The de facto ban on these trans plants exposes a broader dilemma facing Japan - how to balance modern technology with traditional beliefs. As transplant advocates urge Japan to embrace medical advances. traditionalists argue that thousands of years of culture are more powerful than surgeons and that people must accept the life, and the death. that God and nature intended for

Takeshi Umehara, a respected scholar of Japanese culture, said Japanese believe that "it is not only the brain that makes us human." So for them, even a brain-dead person is alive until the last beat of his heart. A bill recognizing brain death as the legal end of life was introduced in the Japanese parliament two years ago. But the issue is so sensitive that lawmakers have re

fused to debate it. Akihiko Noro, a member of the lower house of parliament who supports the bill, argues that Japan has changed and that a majority of the people are willing to accept the concept of brain death. "Doctors want t, patients need it, and hundreds of people are going overseas to get" transplants, Noro said.

Not all transplants are banned in Japan. Cornen, kidney and bone cause they do not require a brainhelps no one. Under no circumdead donor. But there are few donors because of the Japanese belief that bodies must remain intact for the trip to the afterlife.

For the average Japanese, the concept of donating or receiving organs is extremely vexing, said Soho Machida, who was a Buddhist monk for 20 years and now teaches at Princeton University.

Machida, who is visiting Tokyo. said many Japanese believe a per- 1 been no progress."

son's body and soul are linked and giving up an organ is like giving up part of one's soul. As a result, there are fewer than 200 kidney trans plant operations in Japan each year even though 20,000 people need them. By comparison, 11,000 kidney transplants were performed in the Inited States last year.

Still, a growing number of Japan se are carrying organ-donor cards One of them is Kiuchi, whose card grants permission for his kidneys. eyes, heart, liver, skin and bone narrow to be taken for transplant. "I believe my sout can live happily in the next world even if there is a scaon my body," he said.

Transplant advocates say the situ ation in Japan, the world's secondrichest nation, has become a national embarrassment. Recent polls show that 91 percent of Japanese physicians want the government to approve transplants.

Doctors here estimate that hur dreds of sick lananese have gone abroad in recent years to prolong their lives and that thousands more have stayed home and died, often because they were too ill or too poo

\$380,000 he needed for the air fare to Los Angeles and the cost of hi treatment only with loans and a fund-raising campaign that drew donations from more than 10,000 Japanese, many of whom had hear

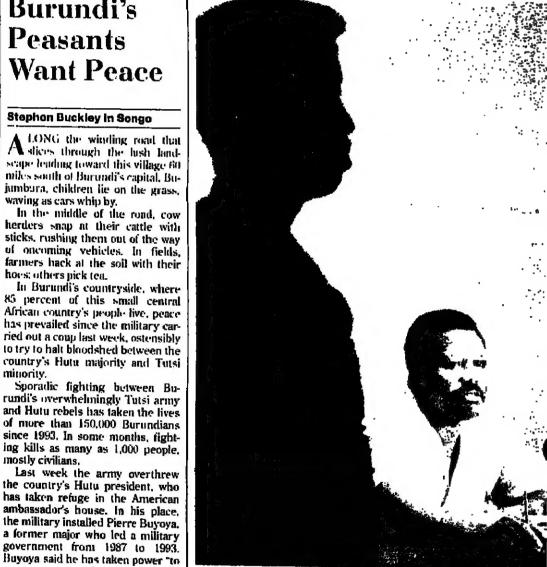
Some desperately ill lanarehave resorted to buying organabroad - a practice that is legal in Japan but that the World Health Organization condemns. On the streets around the Tokyo Women's Medical College, where many patients undergo kidney dialysis. posters pop up overnight informing passersby of telephone numbers to call if they need a kidney. Those numbers lead to brokers who arrange organ purchases in other Asian countries:

Tsuyoshi Awaya, a medical and legal sociologist at Tokuyama Uni versity, has researched organ selfing in India and the Philippines, the most popular organ markets for Japanese patients, as well as in Vietnam, Cambodia, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Awaya has interviewed and photographed 100 donors who swapped a kidney, bone marrow even a cornea, for quick cash.

Although legalizing all trans-plants and expanding the donor pool in Japan would not stop the global trade in human organs, it vould reduce demand, Awaya said. But politicians are unwilling to upset tradition. As the country refuses to engage in a national discus people are dying for want of a transplant — something Yoshio Aranami

would like people to remember. Ten years ago. Aranami watched his 15-year-old daughter die of hyd failure. As her congenital disease made her weaker and weaker Aranami begged doctors to perform a transplant to save her life. He stil ives with "an ache in his heart" tha he did not take her abroad.

Aranami consoled himself with the thought that her death might help the transplant cause in Japan Today, his hope remains unfulfilled "It is impossible to imagine that all this time has passed and there has



A soldier stands guard as Burundi's new leader, President Pierre Buyoya, addresses the press last week PHOTO: CORINNE DUFKA

raids and the army's reprisal masand attempted coups. Since the Without peace, they cannot culticountry of 6 million won indepenvate their fields. They cannot feed their children or send them to school. They cannot pick their tea-"Whoever is running the country needs to bring peace," said Nestor Ntahonkuriye, 40, a tailor. "The peasants need to live, to live in peace." Ntahonkuriye sat outside at his sewing machine, tape measure

ashen left foot pressing the machine's lever as he sewed a pair of

Ntahonkuriye said. "What is unfortunate is that there is war." Burundians are used to coups

dence from Belgium 34 years ago, its people have suffered through a half-dozen toppled governments and at least as many aborted coups. The fighting that devastates Burundi today is the fallout of the assassination of its first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye, in a failed military coup in 1993. Ndadaye had beaten Buyoya in July 1993 in the nation's first free presidential

stuffed with fabric at his side, his | elections. "Whoever leads us in the right way, that is who is acceptable," Leopold Bangurambona, 30, a "The leaders come and they go," | potato farmer, said diplomatically. | problems will end."

Bangurambona, a shy man who flicked bits of earth from his fingers as he spoke, was preparing his potato field for planting, cracking into the rich dark soil with his hoe. Like most Hutu far land owned by Tutsis, who for decades have controlled the coun-

try's economic and political life. Bangurambona insisted that the fighting in Burundi does not emanate from Hutu peasants hating Tutsis. Instead, he blamed the country's debilitated state on politicians

lusting for power.
"We do not hate each other," he said. "It is the politicians who are misunderstanding each other. If they try to understand each other, and share the power, maybe the Trading on a Nation's Weakness OPINION

THEY CALL them "thump-■ thumps," In places like Gallup. New Mexico, the term refers to the sound one hears as the front and rear axies of a car run over a drunken Indian who has passed out in the road. In winter, indigenous inebriates who die after falling asleep on the snow and ice are

Richard Estrada

West Coast

Homeless

Sharon Waxman

homelessness.

Can't Ignore

ROBERT KAHN was even more of a nuisance in jail than out of

it. Outside, all the 49-year-old ac-

tivist did was feed the homeless

without a permit, a crime that got

him sentenced to 60 days. Inside, he

So officials kicked him out about

image and weighs on its conscience:

Wherever one turns, men and

women are lying in the gutter. A

block from City Hall, a drunk

flashes his genitals at the traffic. At

United Nations Plaza, a man in a

frizzy wig emerges noisily from a

public toilet as a dishevelled woman

accosts passers by with an aggres-

sive, "Hey! You have a good one, my

Many other cities - New York

most prominently — have adopted

hardline attitudes toward society's

most visible poor. To circumvent a

1993 appeals court ruling that

begging is a form of free speech.

municipalities have passed laws

banning roadside begging, sidewalk

sitting and soliciting near cash

machines. In the District of Colum-

bia an "aggressive panhandling" law

was passed in 1994, which made it a

crime to aggressively request

sometimes called "popsicles." Appalling images? Appalling terms? Certainly. But as America once again lapses into the age-old practice of Indian bashing, it needs to remind itself that stark imagery often transcends the useful stigmatigation of alcoholism and instead promotes the dehumanization of Indians. The surprise is that corporate marketing is blazing new trails to

Take Budweiser, for example. In ning commercials featuring alliga-tors and frogs. But in the United Kingdom, Budweiser is running commercials on TV and in movie theaters showing happy Indians drinking in a bar. Four centuries after the arrival of the Europeans it America, isn't it about time for society to afford Indians basic respect?

A little human deceney? Ever since the days when European traders learned of the Indians' weakness for firewater, outsiders have been trying to make money | of the Berlin Olympics of 1936.

Some critics will naturally want to from this unfortunate fact. Today, focus mainly or exclusively on American Indians are plagued by a rate of alcoholism five times greater eacism and the corporate culture Indeed. Budweiser's role as an offithan the general population. Alco-holism among the Indians is one of cial sponsor of the 1996 Centennial Olympics will give everyone an opthe country's most persistent social portunity to ponder this facet of the debate. But the subject of how the

But has that kept U.S. beer manufacturers in recent years from crossing the line again by actually targeting Indian consumers? Not unless you think the brand name Crazy Horse malt liquor was chosen by accident.

To be sure, Budweiser is undertaking a different strategy in the United Kingdom. It is defending its ad campaign there on the grounds that the commercials are targeting consumers who admire Indians instead of targeting the Indians themselves. But such an explanation misses the point. Beer drinkers everywhere may

deeply admire the American Indian as an ideal, but such admiration the United States, the largest heer | does not absolve anyone from con- promote fairness, decency and re-

ng the group in a social or | spect among all our ethnic commumoral vacuum. Specifically, the clods in-sales cannot be excused for having ignored the Indians' disproportionate addiction to alcohol, even if their Indian ads have been largely responsible for a 20 percent increase in sales in England over the last year. But the emphasis on the bottom line is also subjecting Budweiser to criticism now that it is running commercials in the United States that appear to mimic Leni Riefenstahl's cinematic glorification | thinking: "The only good Indian is a

Ellen Goodman offers an alternative selection of great holiday books

T'S SUMMER. You promised to become computer literate, but suddenly you remember that even Bill Gates chose to write a book. You've struggled with virtual reality, but now you figure you'd rather relax with a novel. You've surfed the Internet, but you find yourself longing to read in a hammock,

Meanwhile, the best-seller list ounds more like the McLaughlin Group than the literary round table. The authors yell: "Rosh Limbaugh is a Big Fat Idiot!" or "We're Right, They're Wrong!" And you can't believe that there are still two — count 'em, two — O.J. Simpson books in

Not to worry. As a public service, once again offer an alternative and quirky list of books which have nothing in common except that I

read and enjoyed them.

To begin with, Snow Falling On Cedars is as good a vehicle as any to help you out of the everyday speed zone. David Guterson sinks slowly into island life in midcentury Puget

The backdrop of this story is a murder trial, but it evokes the deeper mysteries of a tightly knif and lethally divided community

You can't believe that there are still two

— count 'em, two — O.J. Simpson books in

the top 10 bestsellers where "no one trod too easily on the emotions of another" until forced to.

There is a very different and deserted island setting for Amelia Earhart's posthumous life story. I Was Amelia Earhart opens in 1937 after the aviatrix's mysterious disappearance. But Jane Mendelsohn's reverie on the "loneliest of heroines" touches women of our own time who push at the edges of fame and expectations and only discover real life after they crash.

In some ways, Vienna Daniels, the heroine of Katherine Mosby's novel was also a deserted woman. Private Altars is the tale of an educated urban bride who arrived in a small West Virginia town in the late 1920s. This designated eccentric, a recluse with two children, is the central figure of a truly Gothic Southern story.

To complete this trilogy of women is the elderly Italian narrator in Susanna Tamaro's extended letter to an estranged grandtween sentiment and sentimentality. But the grandmother bequeaths a | who achieve the ultimate in bad wisdom as earthy and well-tested as | writing. the family's cake pan.

Having wallowed happily in The Stone Diaries last year, I've begun working my way back through Carol Shields's earlier novels with delight. The Republic Of Love is a thoroughly modern and, therefore, skeptical love story of a thricemarried 40-year-old DJ and a nevermarried folklorist.

This is "just a love story" the way The Stone Diaries was "just a life | Way to go Janice. Next year the story." "Love," Shields writes, "be- best-seller list!

longs in an amateur operetta, on the inside of a jokey greeting card, or in the annals of an old-fashioned poetry society . . . It's the one thing in the world everyone wants, but for some reason people are obliged to pretend love is trifling and foolish ...

Love makes only the most cameo appearances on the nonfiction list this year, overwhelmed by scandal and celebrity, screeds and telltales. But there is good news as well.

There has been a renaissance of political books from the dormant est-of-center. One is E.J. Dionne's book on progressive politics, a treatise more thoughtful and cer tainly hopeful than its title: They Only Look Dead.

As for the resurrected, one of the very best analyses of American socicty. Habits Of The Heart, has been reissued with an insightful new inroduction by the same five authors.

Jim Fallows, meanwhile, beats up on the media in ways that the less permissive (and less sensitive) of us regard as healthy. In Breaking The lews, Fallows is best when describing the "competitive glibness . . polarization and overstatement" of talk-show journalists, and when criticizing those who analyze the politics of an issue rather than the

For proof of this rebuke, there is Jonathan Kozol's sober look at the overlooked: children who live in the worst poverty pockets of urban America. In one moment of Amazing Grace a mother with AIDS is told about compassion fatigue among the well-to-do and she says, I don't understand what they have done to get so tired."

If Kozol is a lonely voice, there's an explosion of books lamenting amily. One of the best is Mary Pipher's The Shelter Of Each Other. She writes of children growing up in the "consumption oriented, electronic community that is teaching them very different values from those we say we value." She is a wise companion in family un-

friendly times. But it's fathers who have really been filling the family bookshelves. This year there are treatises on absent fathers and memoirs of remembered fathers.

Of these, Mary Gordon's book on herself/her father is an astonishingly brave meditation on The Shadow Man, who was the false foundation of her own life. "My father died when I was seven years old," she writes. "I always thought that was the most important thing anyone could know about me." Painfully, piece by piece, she ex-humes a man with a different name, language, nationality, resumé, In the process, she is as unsparingly honest about herself as about her

Finally, if none of these books appeals to you, you can always cuddle up with the winners of the Bulwersometimes over the threshold be- Lytton Fiction Contest, the award that annually honors contestants

This year they gave the grand prize to Janice Estey of Aspen, Colorado, for the following paragraph: "'Ace, watch you head!' hissed Wanda urgently, yet somehow provocatively, through red, full, sensuous lips, but he couldn't, you know, since nobody can actually watch more than part of his nose or a little cheek or lips if he really tries,

but he appreciated her warning." man, and his unmarried, childless



In the Best of Families

Gustavo Perez Firmat

A HEART SO WHITE ranslated from the Spanish By Margaret Juli Costa Harvill/HarperCollins. 279pp. \$24

THIS NOVEL could have been ■ many things — a love story, a murder mystery, a tale about the loss of innocence and the burden of guilt, a study of the complicated, sometimes sinister negotiations between fathers and sons or husbands and wives. Instead, however, Javier Marias - one of the best-known and most interesting novelists to have emerged in Spain during the last 15 years — takes bits and pieces of what could have been and puts them together into a book that s as quirky as it is brilliant.

Narrated by a talkative thirtyomething who makes a living as an nterpreter for the United Nations he story ambles leisurely across two continents and three generations, eventually settling on a decades-old family secret concerning the narrator's father. Imagine

The House Of The Seven Gables as told to Laurence Sterne, and you begin to form some idea of the dark truths and bright ideas that make

The intriguing cast of characters includes the narrator's father. Ranz. an aging, caped Lothario who has survived three wives; Luisa, the narrator's wife, who develops a strange intimacy with her father-in-law; Berta, a former lover who spends her spare time looking for a mate through the personal ads; Custardoy, a childhood buddy who has grown into an expert forger of 18thcentury French art and who may also be having an affair with his best friend's wife; and Miriam, a Cuban mulatta whose life briefly intersects with the narrator's during his honeyinoon in Havana.

An endless stream of cute o acute reflections trickle from the restless mind of the narrator, who ventures opinions on everything from the finer points of translating Shakespeare (the novel's title comes from Macbeth, which gives you a clue as to what the family's secret is all about) to the stress-

the process, he gives us some wonderful scenes, such as the mangled interview between a Thatcher-like British prime minister and a high-ranking Spanish politician, during which the interpreter substitutes his own questions for those of the participants, so that when the paniard asks his British counterpart whether she wants tea, the interpreter recasts the question as "Tell me, do the people in your country love you?" What follows is a ninuet of missed connections that s both hilarious and affecting.

filled jobs of the guards at the Prado (imagine staring at Velazquez's Las Meninas every day for 40 years), In

Anytime the narrator looks, he sees something; anytime he listens. he catches an intriguing snippet of conversation. To a large extent, h less a character than a mode of perception, a point of view. True to his calling as translator, he seems far less attentive to the origin or impact of experience than to the mere act of recording and conveying it.

The underlying problem, though that nobody can be perceptive all the time, and even unmitigated perceptiveness becomes a little grating unless it is filtered through an engaging personality, which Marias's protagonist doesn't have. As a result, there are moments in the novel when the reader wishes that the narrator stopped looking and simply joined in the fray or at least got out of the way long enough to let the other characters go about their dirty business.

But this is only a quibble. Ably rendered in English by Margaret Jull Costa — a translator's translator, if there ever was one - A Heart So White is an entertaining and intelligent novel that illustrates one of the ways in which younger Spanish novelists have advanced beyond the drab, count-your-tapas

Falling Into a World of Color

THE WRECKED, BLESSED BODY OF SHELTON LAFLEUR By John Gregory Brown Houghton Mifflin. 257pp. \$21.95

THE WRECKED, Blessed Body Of Shelton LaFleur, John Gregory Brown's lyrical and thoughtful second novel, revisits questions of race in New Orleans, the subject and setting of Decorations In A Ruined Cemetery, his award-winning first. Although the new book's strength — what makes Brown stand out among young literary novelists — is the power and rhythm of his prose, he has an enthusiasm for plot that is rarer than it should be among serious novelists of any age. This new novel is as

tangily complicated as its title. In it, Shelton LaFleur, an old man painter, tells the story of his life. Three things in that life have defined it: his race, his art and the accident that wrecked his body — a fall at the age of 8 from a large oak tree in New Orleans's Audubon Park. That fall, which left Shelton barely able to walk, landed him "not just in the dirt and oak leaves and roots and not just beyond the hearing of family ears and the sight of family eyes but in a place beyond everything he'd ever seen or heard or known."

The family consisted only of Edward Soniat, a wealthy white

daughter, Margaret. Although the | he suffers from the other orphan year was 1926 (and not, say, 1826), Shelton, who is black, was purchased as a gift for his sickly daugh-ter, herself only 17 and crippled with a disease that would kill her before the age of 30.

Despite the shameful way which the Soniats got him, with its shades of slavery, Shelton was raised and lavished with love as Margaret's own child - the physical impossibility of which, because he is as black as she is white. Shelton does not realize even at the time of his fall from the tree. He learns of it only from the policemen who pick up his crushed body.

After the fall he can only tell the policeman that his mother is white, which they rightly doubt, as do the nuns at the Catholic hospital where

will remain for five years. Here the plot calls for considerable suspension of disbellef. Many, still far from convincing. But the point, in any case, is that Shelton has fallen out of the white world and into the black.

During his time in the orphanage. Shelton retains his sweet, goodhearted nature, in spite of his apparhome. And in spite of the treatment | no matter their color.

boys, who mock his belief in his inflamed by his weakness and his

One day Shelton just walks away

from the orphanage. He tries to run but can't. In another plot wrinkle that Brown can't quite iron smooth, on the morning he walks away the son-in-law of the Soniats' nursemaid happens to be watching for him outside the orphanage. This man, Minou Parrain, has gone looking for Shelton because Margaret has recently died and the nursemaid is herself near death, Only Dickens can really get away with this sort of thing, but because of his lyric intensity, Brown almost succeeds.
Minou takes Shelton home to his

shotgun house and although Shelhe is taken. Once he has healed as | ton still aches for the Soniat house, much as he will, he is moved to a | he begins life with what is, and will be revealed to be, his real fami The slow discovery of Shelton's identity provides the twists and mounting tension of for example many pages later Brown offers an | Great Expectations. Shelton goes explanation for the Soniats' curious inability to find Shelton. Although the explanation is not illogical, it is in his life of despair or joy, of rejection or revelation, into paintings.

Shelton comes across as a palpable but psychologically complex character. The novel doesn't propose any neat conclusions about race. Most of the drama of Shelton's life has its origin in his blackness, ent abandonment by the Soniats, and yet he seems to have lived in his whose house he still pines for as | skin more comfortably than most, GUARDIAN WEEKLY

LeMonde

ETA escalates bombing campaign in Spain

Basque separatism once again tops Madrid's political agenda, writes Michel Bôle-Richard

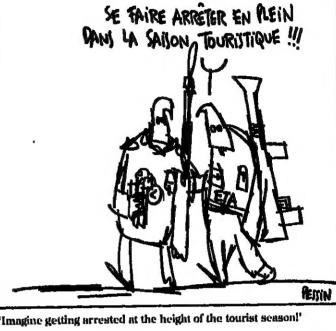
HE Basque separatist organ-isation, ETA, has stepped up ts terrorist campaign in Spain, in accordance with its now familiar summer policy of targeting tourist resorts in an attempt to discourage foreign visitors. Thirteen bombs were recently let off within the space of 11 days, including the July 20 blast at Reus Airport near Tarragona which injured 35, among them a score of British tourists.

ETA's new offensive follows week-long ceasefire it observed at the end of June. The group had called on the new Spanish government to give "a clear and public answer as to its intentions with a view to solving the conflict in the Basque Country", to agree to its "right to self-determination", and to accept the result of a "democratic debate among Basques on the issue.

An answer of a kind came from a meeting on June 25 of democratic Basque parties belonging to the anti-terrorist pact. They offered to start talks with ETA on condition it released the prison warder, José Antonio Ortega Lara, whom it kidnapped on January 17, ended its violence, and recognised the politi-cal plurality of the Basque people.

The Basque parties had not shown such unity for some time but, despite the united front, ETA turned down their offer, even though Basque public opinion and organisations sympathetic to the separatists supported an extension of the ceasefire.

The government also made a gesture by regrouping in the Basque Country 32 of the 500 ETA members being held in jails all over Spain, and by promising to consider doing the same for other detainees.



A week later the bombs started exploding again. When the interior minister, Jaime Mayor Oreja, visited those injured in the Tarragona blast, he stressed that the government would not be deflected from its anti-terrorist and prison policy. Before the airport was bombed

the prime minister, José Maria Aznar, had announced that new measures to fight terrorism would be decided on within a week. Following the end of the ceasefire, which had been widely seen as a gesture by ETA towards the new government (though the latter disnissed it as a "trap"), Aznar seemed to be moving towards a hardening of the government's position.

After coming to power his conservative People's party had relaxed its intransigent stance on the Basque issue. Before the election, Aznar was particularly hostile to a policy of rehabilitation and called for all sen-

tences to be served in full. He at tacked the Socialist government's anti-terrorist policy and accused i of "capitulating" to ETA. In government he

dopted a more liberal stance and stopped criticising Xavier Arzallus's Basque Nationalist party for calling or secret talks with ETA. Recently, however, the deputy

erime minister, Francisco Alvarez ascos, returned to the government's previous position when he rejected the idea of any secret talks with ETA until it had officially decided to lay down its weapons. The previous government had

been saying much the same thing, but it emerged that Felipe González's public statements did not always square with the facts; his government had built up lines of communication with the separatist organisation, notably through the

On July 19, a high court decider to bring proceedings against the 25 members of the executive of Herr Batasuna (HB), ETA's political wing, on the grounds that they had collaborated with an armed group. They had distributed, before the March 3 election, a video in which

ETA set forth its demands. The action against the HB leadership may cause further tensions in the Basque Country, as the judiciary has traditionally turned a blind eye to the relationship between the two organisations.

On this occasion the magistrate in charge of the case, Baltasar Garzon, felt HB had overstepped the mark in condoning the nurders in February of the lawyer Fernando Mugica and a former constitutional court president, Francisco Tomas y Valiente — murders that caused widespread indignation in Spain.

Paris and Madrid are now co operating in the fight against ETA. This was confirmed on July 24 when French police, apparently acting on a tip-off from the Spanish authorities, arrested seven separatist activists at a remote farmhouse in the French Pyrences. Their haul included Julian Atxura Egurola, known as "Pototo", who is thought to be ETA's third in command.

The first serious test of Franco-Spanish relations on the Basque issue came on May 4, the day Aznar took office, when France handed over José Antonio Urrutikoetax. known as Josu Ternera, who was regarded as an important member of the ETA leadership.

There are rumours in the Basque Country that the closeness of current Franco-Spanish co-operation may extend beyond police level, and that Paris could play a part in paving the way for talks with ETA though that is unlikely for the time being and has been officially denied by the Aznar government. (July 23 and 25)

New PM promises to modernise Greece

Daniel Vernet in Athens

A FTER his victory at last month's congress of the ruling Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok) - and now that he no longer has his predecessor, the late Andreas Papandreou, looking over his shoulder — Greece's prime minister, Costas Simitis, is determined to act quickly on his promise

An indication of the government's new strategy came last week with pean Union aid to southern and eastern Mediterranean countries. The veto had been prompted by a dispute earlier this year between Greece and Turkey over the sovereignty of a tiny island in the Aegean.

With a general election due in the autumn of 1997, Simitis will make a policy speech in September in which he will spell out his priorities and announce a limited number of modest but specific projects that can be implemented before the country goes to the polls.

The government has outlined priorities in different areas. On the economy, the sim is to conform to

the Maastricht convergence criteria. To do that the government will have to fight inflation, which now stands at 8 per cent, reduce the budget deficit, bring down effective interest rates, which are the highest in Europe and discourage investment, and ensure that grants promised by the so-called "Delors II package" are used in the most effi-

Also on the agenda are a mod ernisation of Greece's institutions, reform of its bloated civil service, and a redefinition of the objectives of state-owned companies, some of which will be privatised. Action will be taken in the areas of defence and social benefits, which the govern-ment hopes to improve despite spending restrictions.

A source close to the prime minister says: "We're caught in a vicious triangle. The Maastricht criteria, our welfare state and our defence spending, which is the highest in Europe in relative terms, are incom-

One of the aims of another government priority, to develop a new approach to foreign policy ssues, is to reduce long-term defence spending.

why Simitis has decided to abandon his predecessor's populist stance on Greece's EU allies, Nato and major nternational issues. Greece wants o be able to act as a driving force in the Balkans by "exporting stability" by drawing on its own experience to help the Balkan countries move closer to western Europe.

There remains the problem Turkey. As was shown at the beginning of the year in the clash between Athens and Ankara, Greek foreign policy has been dominated

The Greek government naturally felt some concern when a pro-Islamic prime minister came power in Turkey last month. But i also took a malicious pleasure i pointing out to its EU partners that they had been wrong to place their trust in Turkey and interpret Tansu Ciller's Chanel suits as proof of

Ankara's pro-western stance.

Prime ministerial sources see the asue in slightly more sophisticated terms, They are less worried about the coming to power of the Is-lamists than about the filmsiness of

the coalition between Ciller and Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the pro-Islamic Welfare party, and the risk that Turkish foreign policy may become inflamed by nationalist feelings.

They argue that because Welfare is not a monolithic party the most intelligent policy would be to encourage its more pragmatic wing, to which Erbakan is thought to belong, so that it no longer needs either the support of the fundamenalists or a coalition with Ciller in

According to that argument, the only way to help Turkey and discourage it from turning its back on Europe is to give it money. In other words. Greece wor hostile to the EU providing Turkey with financial aid, provided specific strings were attached.

Simitis has less than a year push this new policy through. After being approved first by parliament, then by Pasok, he now needs only the verdict of the ballot box to usher in what is widely seen as a new era in Greek history. It is an era that will finally bring down the curtain on the period that followed the military dictatorship of 1967-74, and which, for better or for worse, was embodied by Papandreou.

Atlanta loses the spirit of Lilleĥammer

COMMENT **Alain Giraudo**

T TWAS as freezing in Lillehammer during the 1994 Winter Olympics as it has been sweltering in Atlanta since the beginning of the centennial Games. The Norwegians were just as proud and happy to host a global sporting event as the American South is today. They displayed their patriotism by waving thousands of little Norwegian flags, just as cour less Americans have been waving the Stars and Stripes But the similarity between Lillehammer and Atlanta ends with the events themselves.

The Norwegians' love of sport knew no frontiers: they enthusi astically applauded winners and losers alike, whatever their country of origin. People from all over the world had come to Lillehammer, and Lillehammer welcomed them with open arms

Is there, one wonders, a climatic factor that affects the degree of generosity a host nation displays towards its guests? It is tempting to think so: what we have witnessed in Atlanta, in temperatures 50 ° higher than in Lillehammer, is worlds away from the sheer

jubilation of that wintry event. There would be little point in an opinion pollster asking spectators filing into Atlanta's Olympic park what they thought of, say, France's gold-medallists — who include judokas David Douillet and Djamel Bouras, cyclist Jeannie Longo and fencer Laura Flesset — becaus the number of people who had heard of them would be

statistically insignificant. It could not be otherwise. Americans are interested only i America. The Olympic Games are merely an opportunity for Americans to wallow in selfongratulation. They chant

'USA" like a fanatical mantra if

an American is competing. It all began with the July 19 opening ceremony. After each national delegation had marche past in an atmosphere of barely polite indifference, American spectators went crazy when their own delegation, the last, entered the stadium. Only one anthem was sung, the Star-Spangled Banner, whereas protocol normally requires the Greek and

Olympic anthems to be played. then, the crowds have shown only two kinds of reaction: indifference or hysteria. NBC, the official television channel covering the Olympic Games, which decides which pictures it sends out, naturally profers hysteria to indifference. So it has concentrated on American champions.

We had already come to the conclusion that Atlanta was less than 100 per cent efficient on the organisational side. What we had not expected was such a crude display of selfishness.

Israel has to listen to its ultra-orthodox Jews now that they have a lever on power. Gilles Paris reports from Tel Aviv

T IS the sabbath. Two rollerskaters speed from the sea I front through the graceless streets of Buci Brak, Tel Aviv's ultra-orthodox suburb. Not a car is to be seen, and the streets have been taken over by children at play dressed in black shorts, white shirts and kippas. There is a flurry of excitement as the two men, wearing baggy trousers, Chicago Bulls Tshirts and caps worn back to front, career past the kids, who then go back to their quiet games. A pall of silence descends once again over the so-adled black town.

Whea, in the early hours of May 30, Shimon Peres admitted be had lost the general election, people sang and danced in the streets of Buci Brak as they celebrated the defeat of the candidate who in their view did not deserve to be trusted by the wise men of the Torah.

Two days before the poll, vans bristling with loudspeakers crawled through the streets of the suburb telling the population how the rabbis of the two most popular parties in the area — the ultra-orthodox Sephardic party, Shas, and its Ashkenazic rival, United Torah Judaism — wanted them to vote.

Both parties plumped for Binyamin Netanyahu, even diough he was an adulterer and divorcee, and despite his only "electorally religious" promise being that he would "gradually" go over to kosher food.

Shas emerged the big winner is the suburb of Bnei Brak, while it Tel Aviv itself, the "godless" and "indecent" city lambasted by the ultraorthodox, people wept as they learnt the result

With 23 seats in parliament (10 going to Shas, nine to the Zionist National Religious Party, and four to United Torah Judaism), the religions bloc is now the third-largest political force in Israel, after Labour (34) and the nationalist Likud (32), which teamed up with David Levy's Gesher and the extremist Rafael Eylan's Tsomet for the elections.

The ultra-orthodox, or haredim

Aung San Suu Kyi tells

Frédéric Bobin why

only her country's élite

THE July 20 meeting of the

Asian Nations in Jakurtu is

expected to grant Burma "ob-

server status". Ascan official

engagement with Rangoon. Do

That kind of constructive engage-

ment will only strengthen the

regime in power without improving

Do you think regional capitals

are sympathetic to your stance?

stand that there's a serious danger

of instability in Burma. The past few

months have shown that the situa-

Countries in the region under-

policy is one of constructive

ou approve of that policy?

the situation in any way.

Association of Southeast

foreign investment helps



(literally "tremblers" before God), form the great majority of voters in Bnei Brak. After Netanyahu's victory they quickly drew up a list of demands, which were chiefly of a financial nature: they wanted money for the hospital, money to build new housing and money for the local authority.

Finance would not seem to be the strong point of the ultra-orthodox. In June 1995, the interior minister became alarmed at the chaotic state of Bnei Brak's administration. Its mayor, Moshe Irenstein, was widely suspected of irregularities, corruption and nepotism.

A ministry audit revealed that the authority's deficit was increasing at an alarming pace because almost half the population did not pay local taxes. Council workers who were no onger getting their pay cheques deided to go on strike, bringing Bnei Brak to a standstill. A no-nonsense administrator was appointed to redace Irenstein.

José Bellalou, a French architect who settled in Israel in 1984, thinks Bnei Brak's demands for more money are justified: "It's always been like that with the Jews: there have always been those who work and those who pray. Other towns get money to build sports stadiums, swimming pools and parks, so why can't we get some too, since we pray for Israel?"

recognises we're a political force to

be reckoned with. People are fed up

with the army's behaviour and have

been showing increasing commit-

Are you also hostile to foreign

Investors shouldn't come here,

elite. I would like to mention the

case of the French firm, Total Jeur-

rently involved in plans for a gas

pipeline in southern Burma due to

come into operation in mid-1998].

Total has become the Burmese mili-

tary's strongest source of support.

It's not the right time to invest here.

But don't you think investment

population at large?

tion here is highly volatile. The There's a class of people here who

can have positive spinoffs for the

Hardly. The best business oppor-

lunities always go to the same elite.

ment to our movement.

nvestment in Burma?

Bellalou is critical of the methods used by the administrator, "who knows nothing about the problems of religious Jews", and who cut off some houses' water supply in an attempt to get their occupants to pay their bills.

local yeshiva, reveals armies of

young students in white shirts still

hard at work in a huge neon-lit

Although it has now come to sym-

bolise ultra-orthodoxy, like the Mea

Sharim district in Jerusalem and

Kyriat Sfer, another fast-growing

"black town" 30km out of Tel Aviv,

orthodox. But all that changed in

the seventies when the "modern"

are not ultra-orthodox. They

are concentrated in the old district

the well-known television actor. Uri

to open a drama school aimed at

happened in the Philippines in the seventies. The opening up of the

economy only benefited Marcos and his circle. But as the situation

didn't improve, it all ended with a

What's the best way to get out of

All we want is the beginning of a

dialogue. We're not imposing any

preconditions. All we demand is that

the dialogue should have a genuine

political substance and be con-

to approve the proceedings of the

national convention charged with

drawing up a new charter, precisely

because free debate within it was

not allowed. We cannot accept a

constitution which has been drawn

The government is thinking of organising elections once the constitution has been adopted.

It's premature to talk about elec-

tions when the problem of the previ-

Will you take part in them?

the local authority.

people's revolution.

the present deadlock?

ducted on an equal footing.

up solely by the army.

the secularists' last stronghold.

Bellalou decided to live in Bnei Brak so he could be sure his children would receive a proper religious education. He earns enough to enable his two brothers to devote all their time to the study of sacred texts, as do most residents of Bnei

"People like that have a moral standna I don't possess," says Bellalou.
"And you need plenty of it to make ends meet with a pathetically small income." They get about \$500 a month, 80 per cent of which comes in the form of donations.

"There are whole families that have to make do with one chicken a week, on the sabbath. It's a huge sacrifice. So why can't the government give us more help, when it helps researchers, scientists and even parasites like drug addicts and the unemployed?"

Bellalou says that four out of five local people spend all their time studying sacred texts. At all times of day or night, there is a crowd of ultra-orthodox milling about in front of the "prayer self-service" in Bnei Brak's biggest shopping street. An 11pm visit to Poniovitch, the biggest Investors 'should shun unstable Burma'

their money. We had never experi-enced anything like that before in

Meanwhile there are people who

are so poor — particularly in rural

areas — that they are forced to take

Do you then regard the opening

From 1991 to 1994, the experi-

ment seemed to be relatively suc-

cessful. But that was because the

economy had up to then been com-

pletely cut off. In the past year the regime has been unable to consoli-

date those gains. Inflation has run

out of control — proof there's a lack

Couldn't the opening-up process

I don't think so. Look at what

eventually lend to democratic

of confidence in the regime.

rule being introduced?

their children out of school.

regime has been acting very nervily are getting very rich, so much so towards us — which suggests it that they don't know what to do with

because all the money goes to an up of the Burmese economy as a

failure?

Ultra-orthodox extremists an

In Jerusalem, the ultra-orthodox took their cue from the Bnei Brak brigade by introducing buses where men are separated from women on lines serving *haredim* areas, After the election they insisted that on the sabbath their local McDonalds should not be allowed to open and cars should be banned from Bar llan Street, northern Jerusalem's main thoroughfare

Bnei Brak has not always had an exclusively religious colouring. After Other things they wish to see the creation of modern Israel, it was banned include the import of nonsettled by "modern" religious Jews kosher meat, the sale of pork, reliand secularists as well as the ultragious conversions that have been recognised only by the Reform minority, abortion for "sociobelievers moved to Labour-backed economic" reasons, archaeological settlements in the West Bank, and digs in ancient cemeteries, "profanathe more affluent secularists took tions" caused by the construction of up residence in Tel Aviv's posh roads and buildings, and "indecent"

Bellalon is optimistic: "In the old ODAY only 20,000 of Bnei Brak's 140,000 inhabitants lays, nobody bothered about the orthodox except when an election came up, whereas now they'll have o bother about us for four years of Pardes Katz, which has become And next time, with more and more children being born in our com Bellalou says that people like him munity, we'll get a majority in the get on well with the secularists. But

Gavriel, disagrees. When he wanted society already had deep misgiving: helping deliuquents earlier this year he got into considerable trouble with fellow Bnei Brak residents and The secularists in Pardes Katz (July 23)

to take over the area because it includes un industrial zone, which would bring in tax revenues. Space is a rare commodity in Bnei Brak, where the birth rate has gone through the roof. According to Yossi Shilhan, a pro-

believe that the ultra-orthodox want

lessor at nearby Bar Han University the secularists of Pardes Ratz ac discriminated against as a result of the highly sophisticated "spoits system" operated by the local authority whereby the many branches of ultra-orthodoxy — the Hassidim the "Lithuanians", the "Orientals", that hold power within the authority look after the interests of their own spiritual families alone, to the detriment of minorities.

also active. A year ago they targeted newssland whose owner, David Green, sold non-religious papers described by the men in black as "scandal sheets". After threatening and roughing up the elderly Green. who had survived the Holocaust they blew up his newsstand.

Before the May election, Israeli

about the peace process with the Palestinians. Now it will also have to reckon with the "men in black" and the model they hope to impose on i — the moral order of Bnei Brak.

ous elections has not yet been

solved (Suu Kyi's National League

for Democracy won more than 80

per cent of the vote in 1990, but the

the junta simply ignored the result).

Since the 1988 crackdown, the

junta has moved closer to China.

It's Burma's duty to have good

relations with neighbours like China and India. But I'm worried

about how the people might react if

Beijing supports the regime too

vigorously. It might cause racial

tension between Burmese and the

Chinese community that lives here.

When people are discontented they

tend to feel the Chinese are over-

(July 20)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani

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privileged.

What's your reaction to that?

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES Mona, Jamaica

ALCAN PROFESSOR OF CARIBBEAN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT UWI CENTRE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND **DEVELOPMENT (UWICED)**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the post of ALCAN PROFESSOR OF CARIBBEAN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT at the University of the West Indies Centre for Environment and Development which is located at the Mona Campus. The Chair was established by an endowment to the University from Alcan Iamaica Company.

UWICED was set up in 1993 as a focal point in the University for academic and outreach activities in the area of sustainable development including teaching, research, policy development and information systems development. The Centre is multi-disciplinary and incorporates in its work all the environmental disciplines. It has already become widely known in the region and internationally, and aims to become an internationally recognised centre of excellence in the field of sustainable development with particular reference to developing countries.

The successful applicant will be expected to: (i) participate in and develop programmes in research, teaching and information systems in the area of sustainable development in the Caribbean and developing country context and (ii) assist in the development of an outreach programme aimed at fostering the incorporation of suspinable development considerations into the consciousness, plans and policies of decision makers and the wider society in the region. The holder of the Chair will be expected to have an established record of outstanding scholarship in a discipline related to sustainable development. The post of Director of the Centre is also becoming vacant and the successful candidate may be asked to assume the position.

Detailed applications (three copies) giving loft particulars of qualifications and experience. date of birth, marial status, and the manes and addresses of three referees should be sent by 23 August 1996, to the University Registrar. The University of the West Indies. Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica, W.L., from whom further particulars of the post are available. Further particulars are also available from Appointments el5206; Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WCHI 0PF (rel 0171/387/8572) Ext. 206; fax 0171-813-3055; email appropriational at 6 whom candidates in the UK should also send one copy of their application.

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As a senior member of staff, the post holder will be expected to:

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- Edit English-language publications.
- Contribute to the development of the centre's publications policy and manage its day-to-day implementation; this will include maintaining relations with consultant editors, publishers, translators and printers.
- Provide support to the Centre's co-publication programme.
- With others, develop and manage an integrated programme to strengthen agricultural communication capabilities in ACP countries, including an integrated programme of training in scientific communication.
- Develop and manage the Centre's photo-library.

n addition to a relevant university degree from a recognised institution, the applicant reliab

- have English as the first working language and be fluent in French 4-nowle for in Portuguese or Spanish would be an added advantage):
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The collapse of the Soviet Union and the effects of civil war have left Tajikistan with a falling accounty and few functioning services. Save the Children has been working since 1993 to support vulnerable children and their families, but will need over the coming months to replace two key international staff.

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For further details and an application form, please write to Janet Curtis-Bront, Overseas Personnel, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 793 7610. Closing date: 31st August 1996,

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Please quote REF: GW 696361. Further particulars including details of the application procedure, should be obtained

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> Closing date: 23 August 1996. this hoped to hold interviews on Thursday 12 September)



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Field Office Director Maputo, Mozambique

Save the Children seeks a Director to maintain overall responsibility for the direction and coordination of its integrated development programs in Mozambique. Reaching 200,000 people, these growth oriented programs include child survival, reproductive health, economic opportunities, and food security. The successful candidate will have a minimum of 7 years experience in managing large integrated development programs. Demonstrated experience is required in leadership; rational and international staff training and management; program design, implementation, evaluation, and analysis; fund raising. AlD and other U.S. government and United Nations grants and contracts experience is essential. Strong representational abilities with fluency in written and spoken English required. Portuguese fluency prefered. Qualified candidates may apply to: Save the Children, Dept M-LZ, 54 Wilton Road, Westport, CT 06680. Fex 203-221-4077. An EOE MF.



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Now you can watch Big Brother

Privately financed spy probes are raising issues of national security and governments are getting nervous, write Edward Helmore and Robin McKle

cause its suppression in Tibet could be exposed, while Turkey fears its assaults on Kurds may be revealed. Suddenly, commercial satellites are ruffling international feathers. And the particular focus of this fury is a new generation of privately financed spy probes, each capable of seeing objects only a yard across from the depths of space.

In the next few months, three these new-generation, high-resolution satellites are to be blasted into space - launches that will raise critical issues of national security, individual privacy and the public's right to access of information.

At the heart of the problem lies the cold war technology of deepspace monitoring of Earth, recently privatised by Bill Clinton's adminietration to maintain the United States's lead in commercial satellite expertise. The high-resolution sensors of US spy probes - whose images were once placed before the eyes of security officials only - are now to become available for anyone with bucks to spare. The concept will revolutionise public monitoring

O ISRAEL they are a threat of the environment, the scrutinising to its rocky hold over Arab of peace agreements—and the gath-territory. China is upset bedict the space imagery industry will be worth \$6 billion by 2000.

Want to pinpoint the source of Russian river pollution spilling into the Baltic? Or do you want a picture of a bomb blast that military officials will not let you near? No problem. In each case, images supplied by companies such as EarthWateh. s due to launch its first spy satellite later this summer, and Space Imaging Inc and Orbiniage, which are both due to put satellites into orbit next year, will meet those needs.

"It's a technology of freedom for enlightened countries but a tool of terror for closed societies," says Mark Brender, a producer at ABC television's Pentagon bureau.

"We're entering an age of transparency and governments are uncomfortable with it. Those who embrace it will be stronger.

What is causing unease is the unsurpassed power of the cameras and sensors on board the new satellites. Experts say these instruments will be able to take photographs with at least 100 times more detail than

Take Space Imaging's \$500 million | forces against Kurds are also causeye in the sky. It will be locked into a ling international nervousness. Part of the concern lies with fears sun-synchronous orbit (orbiting only over ground and sea that is in day light), a path that will allow the satellite to provide an image of any site on

square mile of the targeted area. Designed for the commercial market, these high-resolution linages will benefit a wide variety of civilian purposes: from agricultural managers to urban planners, construcion companies and public utilities uch uses do not raise eyebrows.

What is causing concern is the idea that traditional sovereign rights are about to be redefined. According to the United Nations "open skies" policy, supported by the US, countries may still own the airspace above their territory. On the other hand, they cannot limit the operation of imaging satellites in space.

Earth once every three days. Pho-

tographs will cost as little as \$100 per

Hence Israel's fury over the hreat that its Arab neighbours could use imagery bought from EarthWatch or Space Imaging to target missiles against it with pinpoint accuracy. Its diplomats are lobbying the White House to limit the resolution of pictures taken over ts territory to 10ft on the grounds

of national security.
Similarly, bird's-eye views of China's suppression in Tibet, In-

that the media will be freed from their dependence on government information during international crises and will be able to collect pietures so detailed that they will resemble views from a helicopter ride. Mr Brender's contention that it is

technology of freedom and transparency may seem pious. Still, the reaceful uses of spy satellite technology have precedents. President Lyndon Johnson once said that the inst US spy probes — which revealed that the Soviet Union was not stockpiling H-bombs and missiles with anything like the ardour that American generals had claimed had justified the cost of the entire space programme. Experts such as Arthur C Clarke agree, and argue that the availability of spy-satellite technology will promote interna-tional stability. Neighbouring coun-tries will be less quick to threaten

or missile silos are visible to all. "The free availability of space imrgery will have a stabilising effect on world affairs," says Bryan Webster, of Space linaging. The less possible it is for countries to be surprised, the less potential there is for conflict."

each other when troop movements

intelligence agencies are likely to donesia's campaigns against the East | be the largest purchasers of high-Timorese and assaults by Turkey's resolution images from these new

Saudi Arabia, Iran will seek those of Israel, and India and Pakistan will

purchase images of each other. The biggest loser is likely to be the US government, which once used its spy satellites to maintain a huge military advantage over rivals

- a superiority used with devastating success in the Gulf war. Fearing it will lose this key advantage, the licences granted to spysatellite operators by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration since 1994 include clauses giving the State Department the right to restrict broadcast data from

a certain area when national secu-

rity or foreign policy interests "may be compromised".

To the US media, the wording of these regulations is too vague and amounts to "prior restraint" of their constitutional rights, Instead, they propose that the media should be free to impose self-censorship when there is a "clear and present dan-

ger" to security. Critics say a state such as Israel could easily be seen as a foreign policy interest and, if restrictions were allowed, this would set a precedent that could lead to other blackout areas to accommodate the interests of the political party in power.

"The State Department's notion of a foreign policy problem would mean that any time a client state says it will be upset by this kind of maging then restrictions will be introduced," says David Bartlett of the Radio-Television news Direc-

tivity she enjoyed. She was less :

communist than a natural anarchist

Authority, wherever and however t showed Itself, was a Decca target

always excepting the Communist party. She particularly enjoyed exposing rackets, as in the case of the

"death industry".

America did not change her. Her

vocabulary and accent remained pure Mitford: "Do tell," she would

say, eager for gossip. Almost every

year she returned to England with

her husband, and rented a London

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The Quardian Weekly

At the heart of rebel causes

OBITUARY

Jessica Mitford

THE WRITER Jessica Mitford. I who has died aged 78, was the second-youngest of the famous or, in the case of the two who became fascist supporters, infamous - Mitford sisters.

It was Nancy, the eldest of the six daughters of the second Baron Redeadale, who laid the foundations of what became a Mitford ladustry: her novel The Pursuit Of Love (1945), sold a million copies with its Jessica gave the industry a further u**s**h in 1960 with Hons And Rebels a purportedly factual account of her upbringing and youthful advenlures, enchanted middle-class England with its picture of upperclass eccentricities, private jokes, language and nicknames.

Jessica next took on a more demanding target: the powerful and devious American funeral business. The American Way Of Death (1963), funny, brave and devastating, consolidated her reputation, showing she was a writer with nerve and social purpose, not merely an upper-class entertainer.

Known to family and friends as Decca, or Dec, Jessica Mitford was raised in the Cotswolds. The sisters were Nancy; Unity, who was Hitler's friend; Diana, who married the fas-cist Sir Oswald Mosley; Pam, who wed the extremely rich and eccentric spectroscopiat Professor Derek sckson; and Deborah, the Duchess of Devonshire. A brother, Tom, was killed in the second world war.

Decca remained friends with Pam, Nancy, and Debo; but not with Lady Mosley. When she invited Decca's son to stay in Paris, Decca replied that she thought it a bad idea; he lightly diaguised family portraits. | was half-Jewish and she did not want him turned into a lampshade. As a teenager, she subscribed to the Daily Worker and pinned up the Hammer and Sickle in her room

while Unity was planing up portraits of Hitler. In 1937 she eloped to the Spanish civil war with Esmond Romlily, a nephew of Winston Churchill. She laid a false trail for her family, who were distraught at her disappear-ance. Eventually, after Scotland Yard, the Foreign Office, and various British consulates had become

British consul in Bayonne. Back in London, they settled in Britain as a pilot officer.

involved, they were married by the



Jessica Mitford: Honourable writer with social purpose

months. Next, vaguely hoping that Romilly could make some money lecturing to women's clubs in the United States, they went to Washington, and then to Florida, where Romilly worked as a barman. When the Chamberlain government fell, and was replaced by the Churchill coalition, Romilly signed up with the Royal Canadian Air Force, After training he was posted back to

In November 1941, Romilly was killed during a bombing raid on Hamburg. By then Decca had given birth to their second daughter, Conatancia. She found war work in Washington, and in 1943 married Robert Treuhaft, a calm and humorous left-wing Harvard lawyer. They ioined the American Communist party during the war and afterwards moved to Oakland, California, where their house became a centre for rad-Ical politics. She was placed on the US Attorney-General's subversives list and appeared before the California state senate "un-American activities" committee. It was the lack of a she and her husband asserted. that turned her to writing.

Their house was on the edge of the Berkeley campus of the Univer-Rotherhithe and joined the Bermondsey Labour party. A daughter, Julia, died of pneumonia aged four was the first that any West Coast was the first that any West Coast radical, black or white, in difficulties with the law turned to for defence.

On American leftwing causes, such an civil rights, she was serious; but communism was for her an unexamined extension of her 1930s anti-fascism; and in any case, living in California, she was able to insulate herself from the realities of Soviet-dominated eastern Europe, and focus instead on the injustices of the US. Argument was not an ac-

flat. One night she would give a party attended by, among others, unreconstructed members of the old left, the next she would be diaing with the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Having her cake and eating it was a Decca

gracefully, she became a sought-after lecturer on the university circuit, delighting and stirring up students with her jokes and irreverence.

In later life, declining to grow old

Her daughter Constancia, her son Benjamin, born in 1947, and her husband survive her. Another son, Nicholas, died in 1955, aged 11.

Michael Davie

lessica Lucy Milford, author, born September 11, 1917; died July 23,



When Tansu Ciller was elected Turkey's first female

brime minister, the nation's women celebrated. Now

promises appear to have been broken and the party

HEN she became Turkey's first woman prime minister, in 1993, Tansu Ciller to be surprised by her about turn.

educated economist, who had got the nation she was its mother, all

her husband to take her name, she she was doing was apeing the many

was the West. The consensus, even generations of male politicians who

When she was teaching here, they

say, she was a male clone and never

ways an opportunist and not sincere

had claimed to be its father. There

was nothing modern about her

brand of nationalism. Others accuse

advance her cause. There is even a

story going around that she won

Clinton over by touching his elbow.

is that they claim she broke her

campaign promise to save herself and her husband from an investiga-

tion into allegations of corruption.

Last month, the government an-

nounced the biggest ever shake-up

moved is the official who was exam-

ining two separate enquiries into

the couple's financial dealings. As

he was also looking into allegations

that the Refah party misused funds

intended for Bosnia, his removal to

the provinces might be seen by cyn-

ics as good news for both coalition

partners. But, as one endangered

official told me, increasing the num-

ber of Refair supporters is "the

worst thing that could happen to our

Tansu Ciller has opened the

floodgates to Refah because of her

stupid behaviour," says Leyla Aysan

of the Society for the Support of

Contemporary Living, a voluntary

organisation which, among other

things, runs educational pro-

grammes for disadvantaged women

and children. The organisation tar-

gets women not because of a

Western-style feminist agenda, but

because it believes women hold

the key in the fight for secularism.

"I'm sure Tansu Ciller doesn't want

country, especially for women".

of the judiciary. The key figure to be

What makes her critics angriest

her of having used her sex appeal to

a good friend of anyone. She was al-

in anything she did. When she told

is over. Maureen Freely reports from Istanbul

was a secular dream come true. No

one could be more opposed to is-

lamic fundamentalism than she was.

It wasn't just that she saw Turkey's

future in the West — as a US-

among the many westward-stepping

women who did not share her rightwing enthusiasm for market

forces, was that she had to be a

good thing, if only because she

proved that a woman could make it

In the lead-up to the general elec-

ion last December, she worked

hard to turn this goodwill into votes.

She targeted many of her speeches

at women who were nervous about

the rapid rise of fundamentalism.

She told them she was their best

and perhaps only guarantee against the Islamic Welfare party (Refah).

Now she has entered into a coalition

with Refah, and the women who

Last month, the Federation of

Women's Associations, headed by

Necla Arat, filed two suits against

Tansu Ciller — now, as a result of

the coalition deal, in the dual role of

deputy prime minister and foreign

minister — for breaking her cam-

palgn promise. Meanwhile the headquarters of her True Path

party has been deluged with furious

etters and faxes. Not all of them are

from women, but because women

mentalism, it is women here who

feel its threat most keenly. And the

women who feel most betrayed --

and embarrassed — are her former

colleagues at Istanbul's Bogaziçi

In the few weeks I have been

teaching here, I have not found a

single woman who has a word to say in her (avour. "There is a Turkish

are at the symbolic centre of funda-

voted for her are up in arms.

Ghosts of the gallant South

Americans in Atlanta are rallying to the flag — the flag of the Confederate states, writes Diane Roberts

themselves absolved from the past Southerners. however, are prisoners to it, chained to a history that won't go away. The Olympic flame has been burning high over Atlanta, capital of Georgia, the self-proclaimed "city too busy to hate", but presiding over the Olympic technopolis as well displayed a little less prominently has been the controversial state flag with the Confederate cross and stars in the corner.

The governor of Georgia, along with black leaders throughout the South, tried to remove the battle banner of the Confederacy from the flag in time for the games. The Confederate emblem was only added in 1956 in outraged white supremacist response to the US Supreme Court's Brown v the Board of Education decision ending segregation. The governor's effort failed amidst cries from conservative whites that their "heritage" was under attack from the Yankee-fied forces of political correctness.

"Cultural ethnic eleansing" is what the Southern League, a burgeoning organisation of mostly middie-class, often academic, certainly angry, white men call attempts to wean the South off the trappings of its slaveholding past.

"We are not racist," declares Dr Michael IIII, founder and national president of the Southern League. He says the League does not believe in slavery, but he looks forward to a time when the South is a nation once again. If the 11 states which seceded in 1861 left the Union now, claims the Southern League, "Its GNP would place it among the top five or six nations of the world and its laws would better reflect the natural conservatism and Christian roots of the Southern people". The South could, says Hill, return to a "natural hierarchy". Though he won't say this out loud, that means

whites on top, blacks on the hottom. In a piece of Faulkneresque irony.

OST Americans consider | British history at Stillman, a small Presbyterian college in Tuscaloosa. Alabama. Almost all of Stillman's students are black. "I always wear a little Confederate battle-flag pin on Robert E Lee's birthday, and they understand that I'm celebrating my culture just the way they celebrate theirs by

wearing a Malcolm X hat," he says. The Southern League is the brainchild of Hill and several other white, pro-Confederate scholars, "a Southern literati and intelligentsia. Hill calls them. They are not people who would be comfortable in white robes and hoods.

Southern League membership is, they claim, growing fast: perhaps 4,000 (they won't reveal actual figures) in 26 states, including non-Southern ones like Oregon and

The League asserts the South as a separate "nation". The name comes from two of the League's philosophical inspirations. One is the League of United Southerners, an antebellum assemblage organised in 1858 by two pro-slavery aristocrats, William Lowndes Yancey and Edmund Ruffin, who fired the famous first shot that began the Civil War at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, in 1861.

The other source is modern and European: the Northern League of Italy, the separatists advocating a republic from Turin to Venice. Hill likes to boast of his close ties with Umberto Bossi, the leader of the Northern League.

The Southern League also looks to the Scottish Nationalist Party for ideas on how to separate themselves from the colonising power they call, almost like sixties leftles, the "American Empire". Hill and the League shrug off the SNPs socialist tendencies; they embrace any and all separatists, from the Parti Québécols to Plaid Cymru.

The League's politics are as melodramatic as Gone With The Wind. One Virginia member writes: "The monied power-hungry élites of America, along with their camp fol-

But Hill insists he is not calling for armed insurrection against Washington - yet. 'The South's position. constitutionally, in 1861 was the correct one." he says. The Civil War (which Southern Leaguers call The War for Southern Independence was not about slavery - liberating African-Americans was just a pious excuse for an imperialist venture by Yankees lusting after power and the South's cotton wealth. The Southern League argues that individual states are sovereign and that the federal government operates solely with the consent of the states; Georgia or Alabama could secede tomorrow if only Washington properly understood the 10th Amendment

"Farcical," says Sam Webb. a conetitutional historian at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Webb, and most legal scholars, agree that the supremacy clause of the Constitution ensures pre-eminence for the federal government. Webb points out that the 1787 Constitution was deliberately crafted to emasculate the power of state legislatures" which were then (and some might say still are) out of control.

HE SOUTHERN League demands that Robert E Lee's birthday become a national holiday, just like Martin Luther King's. They want to return to British spelling (Webster's Dictionary is more "cultural ethnic cleansing"). They want control over representations of the past; lately they have been incensed by plans to place a statue of the late tennis star Arthur Ashe in his home town of Richmond, Virginia.

The myth of the moment is the Confederate battle flag. Gary Mills, professor of history at the University of Alabama, writes in the Southern Patriot, the League newsletter: "The so-called Rebel flag is the flag of the South -- symbol of many good things about our culture and history that are dear to the hearts of Southerners — white, black and red." But it is hard to find



Dixie revisited . . . A Confederate soldier at a gathering of Southern revivalists in Atlanta

the slave-owning hegemony of the

allies are even less subtle. Charles Davidson, a Republican state senator standing for election to Congress from Alabama, says slavery was the best thing ever to happen to Africans who were "not civilised and given to 'voodoo, cannibalism and witchcraft until the nice, Biblepelieving plantation owners chained them in Jesus' name. I am sure that those converted black Southerners are most grateful today." Davidson declares the Confederate flag represents "less government, less taxes and Southern independence", appealing to the fear and loathing of the federal government growing in the nation as a whole, and the appro-priation of victimhood by white

Southerners. Michael Hill is quick to point out that Davidson is not a Southern League member. Davidson's overtly racist rant may be too much even

flag signifies anything other than | however much the League wants to Party often plays the race card.

North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms's last re-election campaign featured a television solvert in which a pair of white hands holds a rejec-"You needed that job. But they gave it to a minority." With the resurgence of overt racism in the South. the Olympic tarch, symbol at diver Stone Mountain and the 40 burned black churches across the South.

and we are sure we shall continue to thrive under the Chinese umbrells." In recent months, Anson Chan has been playing dinner games with Li Ping, the top Chinese official who deals with Hong Kong, and other

In 1986 he was shot at from the air by an Iraqi helicopter in an area that had been liberated from the Iraqi regime. Ahmed had fled there to avoid being conscripted into the army during

the Iran-Iraq war. blindfolded and subjected to repeated electric shocks to his legs and genitals. The torture pended from the ceiling by one leg, abused and whipped. He was also forced to witness others being tortured including one man having his fingernails pulled out and his feet set on fire. The man was subsequently executed. Ahmed knew that if he signed the confessions that he was urged to make, at a price for ending the torture, he would suffer a similar fate. Eventually, after five months

released. Three years later, when the Kurdish uprising began, Ahmed Joined the freedom fighters in their doomed recilion, His brother, who was also involved in the rising, was one of 5,000 Kurds buried alive by the Iraqi forces after the rebellion was put down. Ahmed fled towards the Iranian border with his family but returned home after Saddam Husseln declared an amnesty. He was arrested again and tortured. He remained imprisoned for a year

airport exhausted, frightened, confused and speaking no English. His friends in London met him and on the Monda helped him to make an application for political asylum.

Few people hearing Ahmed's story could fall to be moved. Few would disagree that he is someone with a genuine and well-founded fear of persecution in his own country. Few would dispute his claim to asylum in a free country that offers a refuge to victims of torture and political oppression. For more than three centuries Britain has enjoyed that reputation as one such

Ahmed's friends were aurprised to learn that under the Conservative government's recent asvium-rule changes, Ahmed is classified as a "bogus" refugee. Ahmed's error was not to declare that he was seeking colitical asylum at the moment he arrived at Heathrow. The fact that he was exhausted and spoke no English might seem a good reason for this omission. It was only two days later that his claim

what kind of force it is. As Gülen

Aktas, vice rector of Bogazici univer-

sity, points out: "You can't disregard

25 per cent of the electorate and you

party that hasn't had its splits yet."

have to remember that Refah is a new

She predicts the Iran and Saudi-

type radicals will leave and it will

evolve into yet another traditional

conservative party. "They are look-

ing at the models and the majority

do not like Iran, Afghanistan or Al-

geria." The future, she says, is what French newspaper Le Monde has

Even if Islam here turns out to be

medium hard, it's still misleading to

think that it stands for all things

traditional. There is more than one

tradition in Turkey. Women have

had the vote longer than in many

parts of eastern Europe, Asli Davaz-Mardin, co-founder of the Women's

Library, stresses. Recent research

has shown that there was an active

suffragette movement here dating

begun to call "Islam soft".

always go back to the US. When has a place in government, no matter

by the Government this short would also have been denied starved while his application; was being considered. This process can take years rather than months.

Is it any wonder that these disgraceful new rules have been twice overturned by the judges in the Court of Appeal? Is it any wonder that last month the House of Lords voted by a majority of

As every action eventually gets an equal and opposite reaction, it should not be surprising that the number of women wearing Refah headscarves and ankle-length coats seems to increase every day. What ing not just in the poor neighbournoods where the party is strongest but also in the universities. It is said that the women are paid to keep their heads covered, but if I kept my eyes covered in class, I would have no way of telling my fundamentalist students from their ultra-Westernised classmates. They all read the same books and go to the same Burger King and think the best film ever made is Pulp Fiction. The headscarves are getting the same education as everyone else. they get married and return to their proper place in the home?

It is common knowledge that Refah owes its success to its women activists, who run a brilliant grass roots movement. Will the most educated among them always be content with second-class status? Although the party did interview women when selecting candidates or the last election, they did not seect a single one. At first they said it was because the dress codes in parliament banned headscarves. When that didn't wash, they said they had assessed candidates on a points system and that no women had been awarded enough points. When that made them the laughing stock of the media, they claimed that they had asked women to stand and that the women had refused. Now the Refair women are saying that they nothing for themselves, but the gen-

eral public is not buying that either. instead they are talking about it. Everywhere you go, you hear people arguing about women and Islam and Saudi, with the same passion that they used to argue about Lenin and Mao in the Soviet Union. The new condition has forced everyone to re-examine and defend what they believe in. It is no longer a question of looking East or West: this is where the next big ideological battle will be fought and won. That's how it feels, anyway. By betraying her campaign promises, for what appear to be the most selfish of reasons. Tansu Ciller may inadvertently have done the country a big favour.



Some of the League's spiritual

Hill, a tall Alabamian with a courtly lowers in government, media, edu-accent and long beard, teaches cation, and rainbow coalitions, are less who feel that the Confederate preach "heritage, not hate". But toward the old.

hide behind scholarly gentility, the likes of Charles Davidson could be their path to power. The Republican

tion letter as a voice-over intones. sity on the grandest scale, recalls not just Atlanta's Phoenix, rising out of the ashes Sherman left on his incendiary march to the sea, but the crosses that used to finne on nearby

The New South - the South of Bill Clinton, of black mayors in Allanta and Birmingham, of progress sive organisations — is having an identity crisis. The fight, as the Southern League knows well, k over the ownership of a vexed his-

British-run civil service in 1962. | our years under the British umbrells

_ asylum secker came to see 31-year-old Iraqi Kurd. He is

In 1988 Almed was arrested continued for two weeks. During

until his release in 1993. Last year, security police visited his home while he was away. His uncle warned him that if he returned his life would he in dan ger. At this point Ahmed realised that he had to get out of Iraq. He managed to get across the border into Turkey from where he was heiped on to a flight to Britain. He arrived at London's Heathrow

people talk of freedom, is it coinci-

dental that they also have second

passports? I've never voted for her.

I've always been suspicious of the

right wing. When she was elected, we were all happy for about 10 days.

But she hasn't done anything for

women. Now, thanks to her, we can

turn on the television and watch

Refah men complain about how they can't go on holiday because there

Like many women here, Aysan is

afraid that they want to turn the

country into another Saudi Arabla.

(Our first news of the coalition was

when the wife of a deputy ran through

the campus screaming: "She's sold

us to Iran!") But not all women

intellectuals think that an Islamic

state would be a disaster for West-

ernised women. A notable example

is Nilüfer Güoze whose book, Mod-

ern Veil, proposes that Islam could

Even those who think that is hog-

be a liberating force for women.

are no separate pools for women."

Woman of the West's veiled intentions

for asylum was made. But under the rules devised delay is treated as evidence that the application is bogus. In one respect Ahmed was lucky. Had he arrived in Britain recently, he access to benefits. Without the support of friends he would have

three to amend these rules to allow a three day period of grace for new arrivals in Britain to claim asylum? The Government did not welcome this change and the House of Lords finally backed down in its confrontat on July 22, giving the Government a majority of 14 to reject the move for three days' grace.

It speaks volumes about the extent to which Government policy is driven by crude ideology devoid of compassion and

I highlighted Ahmed's case in the House of Commons at the beginning of this year when Parliament debated the benefit rule changes for asylum seekers Yet Tory ministers proceeded to introduce these rules despite knowing the implications.

Ahmed's application for sylum has now been with the Home Office for more than eight months. He has heard nothing. In the meantime his wife and children remain in Iraq and he is fearful for their safety.

Nick Raynsford is Labour MP for Greenwich

Our woman in Hong Kong

Anson Chan is Chris Patten's number two. Will she step into his shoes. asks John Gittings

A NSON CHAN feels "Chinese", but not "Chinese Chinese". It is an important distinction to make for someone who is number two in Hong Kong and could become number one it she meets Beijing's approval.

Chan declines an invitation to say year's time, means that Hong Kong will be "returning to the motherland" "Our concepts and values are different . . . We naturally identify with Chinese aspirations in wanting to make Hong Kong work well." And, she adds with careful balance. "in contributing to China's success".

Fver since Sun Yat-sen launched the first Chinese revolution in 1911 from abroad (and failed), Chinese "compatriots" from outside have had a problem in defining just how

Chris Patten, faces the future with a flercely cheerful smile. Born in Shanghai in 1940, she left with her family in 1948. She has all the charm and determination with which that city's exiles conquered Hong Kong in the 1950s. Chan talks cautiously about the

process of "selection-election" by which a Beliing-sponsored committee in Hong Kong will choose a successor to the governor, Chris Patten. Her name has been trailed over the past two years as a potential new "chief executive" who replace the colonial "governor". More realistically, she could be retained by Beijing as the number two, so that the civil service stays on board with her. The polls show she is by far the most popular choice in Hong Kong, but that is not necessarily a recommendation.

Last month, Chan was in London meeting the Foreign Affairs Committee briefing the Prime Minister and making reassuring noises. "I'm who expected her "to study hard neither in despair nor starry-eyed," show of the study hard neither in despair nor starry-eyed," show of the study hard and be honourable". Graduating to China's emergence as a modern an air of confidence. Will her pair of the study hard and be honourable.



Chan: 'I am neither in despair, nor starry-eyed'

Kong." If she does sail through to the new Chinese horizon, she will for so many young refugee children | not quite clear whether it is to Hong in the more austere fifties. She was Kong or to China or to both. closely they relate to the mainland. She insists "But no one has yet Chan, now Chief Secretary under a made money belting against Hong English literature, she joined the part is more difficult. "We valued unpublished job-description?"

which offered women a better chance of advancement and, she adds sensibly, a good salary. Chan became known as an advo-

cate of equal pay and women's rights. By 1987, she had risen to become secretary for economic services, at the hub of Hong Kong's economic life, overseeing the port and airport, telecommunications and tourism. Then in November 1993 she became the first woman and the first Chinese - to occupy the post of chief secretary under Chris Patten.

She has acquired the reputation being a "dragon woman" (roughly the Chinese equivalent of an iron lady). But the problem of identity persists for all Hong Kongers of Chinese descent, Most of those who want to leave have already done so: Chan is one of many who believe they still have somebe completing a path which began thing to contribute, even if they are

senior Beijing bureaucrats. Last year, he said he was too busy to meet her in Hong Kong. She then flew to London and on, with a secret invitation, to Belling. That started people talking, especially since she dined with Lu Ping on her own: no notes, no Hong Kong minder. In April this year, she flew up again

problem now is twofold. She mus reject China's criticisms of Hong Kong's last-minute dash for democracy or else seem disloyal to the regime she still serves. But she must be ready to work with Beijing's alternative programme in a year's time.

China is most likely to appoint a figurehead chief executive from one of the formerly pro-British Hong Kong Chinese figures who have

Crude ideology behind 'bogus' asylum policy

this time he was frequently sus-

Nick Raynsford, MP, is shamed by the treatment of an Iraqi Kurd seeking political refuge in Britain

AST month a "bogua" me at my constituency surgery. Ahmed (not his real name) is a married and bas four children he has not seen for about a year. He fled to England in 1995 after almost 10 years of terror at the

Drawings of the Morris

Minor, the first British car

to sell a million, are up for

sale, writes John Ezard

the first, ultra-robust British peo-

The Minor, with its distinctive

he first saw drawings in the late

But it went on to become the four-

wheeled success of austerity Britain,

Beetle. It was the first British car to

sell a million and launched the era of

mass car ownership, putting 1.6 mil-

The ill-advised ending of produc-

tion in 1972 was mourned by hun-

dreds of thousands of motorists. It

remains an avidly collected vehicle,

whose bodywork and engineering

Also up for auction at Christie's

on August 16 are sketches for the

revolutionary front-wheel drive Morris Mini, which displaced the

Minor in the last triumph of the

British home-owned car market.

Both were designed by Sir Alec Issi-

gonis, whose drawings are being

put on sale by his family solicitor.

has outlasted cars built decades later

lion families on the road.

the nation's rival to the Volkswager

to surface on the auction market.

Taking the bile out of Chinese medicine

Researchers in Hong Kong are looking for natural alternatives to remedies based on tiders, rhinos and bears, writes **Andrew Higgins**

OR tigers in Siberia, rhinos in Africa and bears in China, the final fragile line of defence against extinction may be the doomed lives of rheumatic and feverish rats in a Hong Kong laboratory, injected with turpentine and chemicals to induce the ailments for which tiger bone, rhino horn and bear bile are prized as cures throughout Asia.

Rather than denounce traditional Chinese medicine as quackery or sex aids, researchers at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) are testing the prescriptions of anclent medical texts and seeking substitutes for those which require the daughter of wild animals.

There is a hysteria in the West about the yellow peril looking for an erection," said Judy Mills, Hong Some people eat tiger penises, but they are not what is threatening the

A bigger problem is the conflict of interest between wildlife conservation and a medical tradition responsible for a contraband trade worth up to \$10 billion a year.

"A guy who poaches a single tiger , say, Cambodia makes 10 times his annual income with a single shot," says Ms Mills. "It is like winning the lottery." There are now fewer than 6,000 tigers in the world, compared with 25,000 half a century

Even in Hong Kong, where more than 150 years of British rule has entrenched Western medical care, surveys show that at least half the

"We face a terrible dilemma and scientific research is the best way out of it," says Paul But Pul-hay, a biologist at CUHK, who is at the forefront of efforts to reconcile the welfare of wild animals with the health of humans.

He discovered how difficult the

tional group monitoring the wildlife trade. There is a big myth that tigers are hunted for their penises. There is a big myth that treatsted four days of treatment bear bile, which was listed in a Tang with antibiotics. Chinese medicine recommends rhino horn in such

cases, for its "cooling" properties.

The fever finally subsided with the help of egg whites, a less controversial Chinese folk cure. Thank God I did not have to confront an

impossible choice," Dr But says.

Traditional medicine prescribes rhino horn for illnesses ranging from nosebleeds to delirium and strokes. Experiments by Dr But at the Chinese medicinal material research centre show that high doses of rhino horn do help to reduce fever but that the horn of oxen, water buffalo and the saiga antelope have the same effect, at least on laboratory rats.

His centre is conducting research on tiger bone, illegally used in Asia to treat rheumstism, muscle pains and paralysis. Researchers in mainland China believe the zukor, a small rodent of the Tibetan plateau, has many of the same properties. The search for substitutes itself

raises uncomfortable issues, how-

ever. The International Fund for Animal Welfare (Ifaw) has just "Chinese medicine is far more

system as cruel.

than just chemistry. It involves an entire philosophy that cannot be understood by science alone," says Wu Ziming, a university-trained Chinese doctor and manager of "Eternity", a Hong Kong apothecary stocked with herbs, snake skins, seahorses, deer talls and dried herbs.

He accepts the use of alternatives those animal parts banned by the convention on international trade in endangered species but says that hinese medical texts - which include 330 herbal guides - provide more answers than research laboratories.

"Chinese medicine has developed ver 2,000 years to become a comolete system," Mr Wu says, "It is no just Westerners who care about ani mals. If they die out we suffer too."

that Chinese-funded parts of the Conservationists and Chinese healers are, however, slowly acknowledging a measure of shared nterest. Each side has its fundamentalists but neither camp can at ford constant confrontation.

A small sign of co-operation is the ewly launched database on the chemical properties of traditional medicines at CUHK. But East and Vest remain far apart.

"People are not like cars," say: Hong Kong, question the use of Western science and sensibility to Dr But. "It is not just a matter of using gasoline instead of diesel. With a patient, the doctor has to analyse their craft and rewrite their make far more difficult decisions.

Robyn Davidson asks: Where do you go when there's nowhere left to discover? Stay at home, advises John Hooper

Walk on the wild side

HEN man stepped on the moon, there were two opinions - that it was a great thing: that it was a terrible thing. (Actually there was a third view; as it was clearly impossible, it had never happened at all.)

I was of the second opinion at the time. The thought of footprints on that lump of glowing rock was hideous to me. How long would it be before there were package tours up there? Plastic bags hanging about in zero gravity? But I lived in the Australian desert then, and that was about as close as you could get to "pure" landscape on this over crowded planet.

I remember walking in parts of that desert where it was highly probable that no human being had walked before. I trod carefully. wished to cover my tracks. thought of that earth as Eden before the Fall.

But of course there is no such thing as virgin landscape. Aboriginal people, whether they had trodden on it or not, had certainly changed it - by hunting certain animals to extinction, introducing the dingo, encouraging the growth of grasses through the use of fire.

Some years later, I took a friend back to a particularly remote corner of "my" desert. There was no one hundred miles. I culogised. I boasted. We were driving along a dirt track which had seen not so nuich as a bicycle tyre in the previous six months. The track split into two. And on the tongue of sand between the two miserable little ruts. a sign said "Keep Left".

The sign infuriated me. I saw it as an invasion, further evidence of the | were enough resources, generally grotesque need humans had to lift their legs and pee on everything they came across. It did not strike me as bizarre at the time, that this resentment at the invaders did not | satory systems in tundem with their | Viking, £18



Davidson: We have lifted our leg on everything'

include me, my friend or my jeep How often have you heard people say that they no longer want to go back to a place because it has been "discovered". (And looking at the Costa del Sol, who can blame them.) Even so, it is a curious phenomnon. It comes hand in hand with a dislike of ourselves. With our alienation from the natural world, and from each other. This quest for the undiscovered means that there is nowhere that is undiscovered and, therefore, that there is nowhere left to go. We have lifted our legs on

For our wandering ancestors, there was no concept of a nature pure because of the absence of man. Disturbing as his consciousness might be to him, man was nature. plant crops, build cities.

The difference between "natural" peoples, and urban peoples, is that | for the problems created by civilisa the former had a lot of time in which | tion, then perhaps books provide us to learn from their mistakes and to with a way out. Reading is like come up with ideas (cultures) that | taking a journey. It's an entry into would best protect their resources another world, another consciousand their future. Besides, there ness, It can satisfy curiosity, eduweren't many of them and there cate, excite imagination. There are speaking, to go around. It's not that they were/are morally or spiritually better than us - the Romantic view - it's that they developed compen-

to speed that destructiveness.

But here we are, at the fag end of the 20th century, the same animal with the same instincts, living in an impenetrably complex global economic system where the relationship between what we consume, and the capacity of the environment to sustain that level of consumption is so out of whack, it is impossible to predict what the outcome might be.

I was asked the other day whether I thought travel was a good thing or not. I thought it depended upon what luggage you carried. If, for example, you are a certain kind of Englishman who believes that England is the best place in the world then travel would probably only confirm your prejudice. Or if you travel with a Romantic ideal - a desire to escape the world rather than apprehend it better — then there seems not much point in

Travel is only useful if you go open to the possibility of surrender ing parts of what had formed you in exchange for the new perspectives offered by difference. If you go out of curiosity, and with respect. If you can enter a place on its own terms. But tourism is travel with its heart ripped out. Tourism imposes home

nvironments on a foreign place. What is the solution? It's a bit much to ask people who have three weeks holiday a year to spend it struggling with the confusions of an alien place, or to put up with disearned is rest.

If literature was a compensation too many of us: there are too many books. Ergo, stay home and read.

Robyn Davidson's latest book. Desert Places, is published by

natural destructiveness. And they had fewer technologies with which | Not waving but drowning

skill — something we do better than anyone else. What Lucy and I do better than anyone else is have disastrous holidays.

dynasty pharmscopoeia in 659 as ef

fective against gallstones and is now widely used in the West in synthetic

form. A bear gall-bladder can fetch

up to \$18,000 on the Asian black

But the research involves tests on

laboratory rats, which many West-

ern campaigners oppose. The group has asked China's state administra-

tion for traditional Chinese medi-

cine not to use donated British

same programme will involve rats.

money for tests on rats, but it accepts

Such aqueamishness mystifies

most Chinese. Mindful that its popu-

lation of wild bears was dwindling

fast, China set up a number of bear

farms 10 years ago to harvest bile.

Western activists now condemn the

Practitioners of Chinese medi-

cine, particularly its more conserva-

tive adherents in Korea, Taiwan and

It's something we can only do together. Before we married, we both — separately — enjoyed normal, pleasant vacations. So you can imagine that our honeymoon was something rather It began at a hotel run by a

psychopath. On the first night, she fell out with a buge Norwegian and flung him down a flight of stairs. Honeymooners are not meant to notice what's going on around them. They're meant to spend all

their time in bed. We, too, spent all our time in bed. But that was because we immediately developed bronchial flu. I had planned it all carefully, in such a way that we could enjoy not one, but two, Greek slands. Thus, halfway through,

when both of us were in high

ever, we had to get up to go to The two islands were next to one other. You could see the second from the first. But it transpired that there was no ferry between them. So we had to go all the way back to the mainland. And then find a hotel, because arrive until five minutes after the ferry to Island Two departed.

I shall not easily forget the experience of dragging two leaden bags through the backstreets of Piracus with a temperature of over 100. But later events have enveloped the memory in an almost nostalgic glow. At holiday time, it has become

safe to assume that, if neither of us is ill, it has to be raining. Or We went to Queensland and a typhoon - you remember the

UCY and I are experts. All of one that wrecked Mackay and not have a particular talent or Rockhampton some years ago

vinced it was all the fault of our We even, God help us, had a

For understandable reasons, ve have recently stuck closer to home, which for us is Rome. Last year, we went to Umbria

What could be safer than an area which features on a million chocolate boxes?

people's holiday snaps. Look or us at the end of the TV news in the segment reserved for overseas natural disasters. Look for a tall man and a but quite possibly in danger of

Rockhampton some years ago? towards us.

We went to Florida and on the first morning I drew back the curtains of our motel room to find a traffic sign embedded in the rear of our hire car — there had been a hurricane in the night which we had been too jet-lagged to notice.

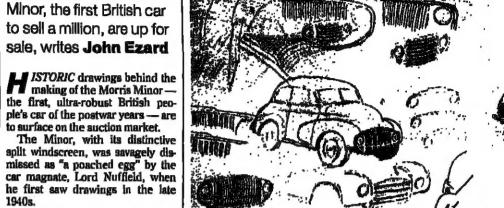
For a while, we were conlack of planning. We pored over brochures and compared rates. personal interview with the tour

- for that fortnight which every one agrees saw the heaviest August rains in living memory. This year, we went to the Italian

No sooner had we cleared the toll booths outside Milan than huge black clouds could be seen jostling each other in the foothills of the Alps. The next day's papers told us seven yachtsmen had been winched to

and there had been a shipwree On Lake Maggiore. It subsequently emerged that the lake ated by DDT. I have no advice, no moral, to

offer. Just a tip. Don't look for us in other



falled his engineering exams at Bat- | ment saked the car industry to "proterses Polytechnic in 1923 because he was bad at maths.

"All creative people hate mathematics," he said. Though his parents wanted him to be an artist, he was obsessed with engineering. He got a job with the Coventry car firm Humber before joining Motors at Oxford in 1936.

"He had some very fundamental new ideas about motor car construction," one friend remembered, "The first thing we decided in the makeup of this small saloon was that we would throw away the chassis and put the engine outrageously far forward." By 1942 Issigonia had finished a scale model of the Minor, Issigonis — born in Turkey with a Greek father and Turkish mother, little knob that opens the glove box

with whom he emigrated penniless | and the door handles to England — was a shy youth who In 1945, the new Labour govern-

duce a cheap, tough, good-looking car...in sufficient quantities to get the benefits of mass production"

Issigonis's 'poached egg' on wheels that brought home the bacon

Other manufacturers spurned the Beetle as a model to imitate. "We do not consider it represents any special brilliance and is not regarded as an example of first-class modern design to be copied by the British industry," Humber said. But at Oxford, Issigonis was allowed to

pursue his vision. He modelled the Minor partly on he American 1941-built Packard Clipper. Nuffield walked out when ie first saw it. He called the designer "Issie-wassi-what's-his-nume". "Eleven years later — when we'd made a million — he had the grace to thank me." Issigonis said.

The car became pre-eminent i is market for its steering, roadMinor rallies at the Brooklands motor museum still draw 200 cars a year - one of them an airborne Minor, with wings specially designed by a Colchester man.

Christie's are selling Issigonis's three original design drawings for the radiator grill, dashboard layout and front bonnet.

The catalyst for the Mini was the 1956 Suez crisis, which paralysed oil supplies through the Suez Canal, bringing petrol rationing. It temporarily shattered confidence in big. gas-guzzling roadsters and flooded the industry with economical but unstable foreign-built bubble cars.

The prototypes, nicknamed Orange Boxes, were full of technological innovations. They had transverse engines, gearboxes that used engine sump oil, independent

fore tried on a mass production car, and tiny, 10-inch wide wheels on a vehicle that could do 70mph.

First marketed for £496 and called the Morris Mini-Minor or Austin Seven, it became Britain's first classless car. Lord Snowdon and John Lennon drove it. The Queen was briefly photographed in one with Issigonis at Windsor.

Easy to park, with superb roadrolding, it was taken to heart by youngsters as a good car for burnups. It was a hallmark of the permissive 1960s. The novelist Jilly Cooper had her baptism of fame with a newspaper column asking "Can you do it in a Mini?".

But, after Issigonis died in 1988, one executive said that — in contrast to the Minor — "we never

Letter from Death Row James L Beathard

History in the present

ROM my cell on the third tier of this Death Row cellblock, I can see the prison farm's agricultural fields starting just beyond the compound's fences and stretching to the river on the distant horizon.

In the middle of one of those distant fields there are long lines of white dots like beads on a necklace, alowly rolling across the ground. They are, in fact, squads of Texas prison inmates whose uniforms are white, plant ing cotton in a long line in the hot summer sun. If they were closer I could see

that the faces and hands of most of those men labouring in the heat are black. At the ends of those white lines and at interval across the fields I can just make out the shape of armed men on horseback, prison guards overseeing the convicts. Their faces and hands are mostly white. They are called field bosses and high riders, and they're addressed as "Boss" when the convicts speak to them, just as the men overseeing the plantation slaves last century were addressed.

It reminds me of the history of this place. Before the Civil War, this tract of land was known as the Ellis plantation and was one of the largest slave plantations in the South. After the end of the war many of the freed slaves stayed in this area. Around the turn of the century, the plantation fell into state ownership and was made into the Ellis Prison Agricultural farm, and then later the Ellis-I Unit prison where I live now, just outside Huntsville,

As I look out my window from this vantage point I can see not just the distant horizon, but also the distant — though not distant enough - past, I'm struck by the sad irony that many of the African-Americans doing time in those prison fields are the direct descendants of the same slaves who worked the same fields more than 130 years ago.

By the same token, the armed men I see on horseback are often the descendants of the whites who oversaw the backbreaking labour of these men's ancestors. Tradition is not aiwaya comforting.

Within a few weeks, these nodern day slaves will be in those fields once again picking cotton as they have been doing for far too many generations. About the only difference I car see between then and now is that the men now have the added burden of being sprayed with herbicide and defoliant from time to time. Since I'm on Death Row, J

don't get the "privilege" of working in those fields, though I'm sure as has happened every year I've been here (nearly 12, so far), and certainly in generations past, a few of the men will die from the heat and labour.

Some things never change because in some places the land Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

W HEN food is served piping hot, who's piping — or

TWAS (and still is on more formal occasions such as Burns night) customary in Scotland to "pipe in he haggis" which is to say that the ood was preceded by a player of bagpipes. Several haggis may be 'piped in" at the start of a large siting and if you were lucky enough to e served while the piper was still in full flow, your food was said to be "piping hot". — Paul Adderley, Leichhardt, NSW, Australia

O CRIMINALS ever resemble their identikit pictures?

THERE is surprisingly little sys-tematic research on this. The most recent study published by the Home Office in 1978 examined more than 700 cases where compos ites were compiled in the course of nguiries. In the 20 per cent of cases olved, officers reported that the omposite was solely responsible or one in 20 arrests. With the new computer-based systems such as "e fit", which have a vastly increased range of features, higher rates of success may be possible. - Professor Graham Davies, Department of Psychology, University of Leicester

DECENTLY convicted double nurderer Paul Bernardo bore a stunning resemblance to his identiklt picture, compiled from Interviews with dozens of rape victims over several years. But a series of bungles by Ontario's various police departments allowed Bernardo and and the people who own the land his wife to escape detection. They Americas: A New World View (ed to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Family will never let changes be made. later abducted two teenagers and Vera Hyatt and Rex Nettleford, don Road, London EC1M 3HQ

performed unspeakable acts on them, which they videotaped before murdering them. Police who called it Bernardo's home, following the release of the identikit picture, refused to believe that a handsome niddle-class man and his beautiful wife would commit the crimes they were suspected of. — David Corson

W HY does drinking cider through a straw increase its intoxicating property?

Toronto, Canada

DRINKING a liquid through a straw will allow any volatile conponents to evaporate — partly due to lower pressure in the mouth during the sucking stage. As alcohol is more colatile than water (the main constituent of any drink), sucking any drink through a straw should release large quantities of this intoxicant. Once released as vapour, alcohol may pass into one's blood faster through the inner skin found in the mouth and gut than in the stomach itself, where alcohol is ingested. Any alcoholic drink may be made to taste "stronger" using a straw. — Andrew Healy, Ashford, Middlesex

■ N New York I heard a representative of the Garifuna people state that there had been a pre-Hispanic African presence on St Vincent. Is there any evidence to support this?

CUCH evidence is well-docu-O mented. Ivan van Sertima reviews It in a chapter in Race. Discourse, And The Origins Of The

Smithsonian Institution), Most interesting is his quotation from Ferdinand Columbus, in his book on the life of his father, Christopher, He reports that his father told him he had seen "blacks" north of the place we now call Honduras. The Garifuhas live in this part of Central America. Christopher Columbus wrote in his journal of black-skinned people who had come to Hispaniola from the south and southeast in boats, trading in gold-tipped metal spears. Samples of the spears were identified with those being forged at that time in African Guinea. — Eötvös Anders, Brassdorf, Durham

Any answers?

WHY do we use a tick-mark to indicate written agreement or approval? — Michael

○ EVERAL years ago there was a public debate as to whether it was safe to use irradiation to preserve food and, if so, whether such food should be specifically labelled. How was this debate re solved? Is the recent marked in crease in the shelf lives of many perishable products due to irra-Intion? - Peter Ainger, Warrington

VITH which fool in mind was the term "fool-proof system" first coined? - A Kassam, The Hague, Holland

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farring-

Bungle in the jungle

Nancy Banks-Smith

OL Blashford-Suell, the intrepid explorer, Adrian, a mild-mannered expert on mammoths, and a few others, who understandably preferred to remain anonymous, were looking for a mammoth in Nepal. And why not. There are few more entertaining and harmless ways of passing the

Blashford-Snell has a briskly military manner of speaking and that top-notch lisp, which has rather fallen out of fashion. He addressed

"We're here in Kathmandu." he began firmly, "and what we'll do from time to time is have these briefings. Now I'm going to ask Actwian to come and give us an update from the scientific angle."

Dr Adrian Lister said, "Obviously

one can't walk up to an 11-foot high elephant with a tape measure and ask to measure it's head so please take as many pictures as you can."
They were looking for The Beast

Of Bardia (Channel 4), a very large, aggressive elephant with blg bumps on its head like a cave painting.

Rajah, as it was known, had chased Blashford-Snell and startled a young lady of his acquaintance. "! do want people to wemember that we are dealing with a potentially dangerous animal," he sald. It was now dark and he was wearing a miner's lamp on his head. "The elephant is the largest animal in the world on four feet and wild elephants can be extwemely bazardous

to your health." He described how Rajah had once arrived by night, stolen his elephant, Honey Blossom, and chased him around the jungle.

"If that happens," he advised, "the place to go is the beach. Elephants don't like running on boulders. If it's a tiger, you are dealing with a different animal. Tigers love running over boulders."

It was dark but it seemed to me, in the glimmering of Blashford-Suell's miner's lamp, that the troops were looking at each other with a wild surmise. The sort of sensation which steals over you when, having struck up a conversation with a man in an all-night café, you realise quite slowly, like rising damp, that this chap is completely off his chump.

Bardia is a large Nepalese National Park, the retreating rump of what was once impenetrable, immemorial jungle. In places elephants are the only infrastructure.

So off they jolly well went ("It's going to be four to an elephant this morning!"). The grass, you noticed, actually was higher than an elephant's eye. They kept in touch by Tarzan type yodelling. Rajah was elusive and Blashford

Snell raised their dashed spirits with liberal sundowners ("What you need is a Bloody Maryl") and pep talks ("The fact that we haven't seen him indicates he's out there some where"). After a couple of Bloody Marys that sounds quite logical.

Things often go a bit flat halfway

through this sort of film. The ma houts made veggleburgers for their elephants and Adrian industriously collected dung for Rajah's DNA.

A signpost was found uprooted and tossed aside. The tracker said, "He doesn't like anything man-made inside the park." The culprit left a 22-inch (oot print. You can measure the height of an elephant by multiplying its footprint by six - is TV educational or what - which made him 11 feet at the shoulder. On their last day Rajalı was spotted half hidden in the jungle. His regular com-panion, a smaller but no less tetchy male, saw them off. This was undoubtedly the shakiest film footage have ever seen.

Adrian, having had his dung malysed, found that Rajah was an ordinary Indian elephant but, by reason of isolation and inbreeding something of a genetic throwback.

Rather like Col Blashford-Snet



Windswept . . . Bill Paxton and Helen Hunt are blown away by the special effects in Twister

Overwrought and overblown

Derek Malcolm

CRICHTON made Twister straight into a script with the aid of

his wife, Anne-Marie Martin; these days he doesn't have to go through the motions of writing a novel first. The result is a great swirling of wind, assisted by virtuoso, state-ofthe-art special effects illustrating a story so thin that it makes Gone With The Wind look biblical-Apparently, in one old technically

dominated epic, the leading man had to say "you're the one I love, want to marry you and have kids by you, nothing else matters", as he lifted his lady from a car crash. But as he did so, her dress tore, expos ing more flesh than the scenario intended. So all that came out was: "You're the one . . . shit!". Time was short and the crash complicated, so the director printed the take.

You feel that Jan De Bont, the Dutch director of Speed, could have similarly dispensed with dialogue any time one of Twister's five tornadoes swirled by, and it really wouldn't have mattered.

The plot concerns Bill Paxton's government weather scientist whose estranged wife (Helen Hunt)

the centre of tornadoes to plant sensors that will predict their movements and establish an early warning system. He is fighting a reluctance to join a corporatefunded competitor (Cary Elwes), who wants to make money, not history. He decides to take his new girl (Jami Gertz) along for the ride, thus making his almost ex-wife so jealous that she won't sign the divorce papers before they go into action. Naturally, an epic battle against twisters capable of lifting cows, trucks and suchlike, wrecking buildings and

killing most of the cast, forges a

new loving alliance between the

estranged pair. The movie is set amidst the vast farmlands of America's midwest and draws on memories of The Wizard Of Oz. But the new wizards are the teamsters of Industrial Light and Magic, who create the tornadues on computers while De Bont orchestrates the actors round about. (Heaven knows what they had to put up with between their lines.) The result, though thin on the sustaining vitamins of character drama, is a whirligig watch where kinetics rule

and nothing else matters. Twister delivers (in spades) exactly what it intends while never aspiring to be anything more than a roller-coaster ride. If you don't exhas assembled a team whose main | pect golden memories, you'll get

Any film that dares to be only 79 cause inflated time-scales ought to be sure of saying something. The originality of Hal Salwen's New York-based Denise Calls Up is that

it says it all on the phone. This, suggests Salwen, is a peri of a world too busy to keep in touch and is thus slowly but surely losing contact with reality. He takes the point deliberately to absurdist conlusions when nobody turns up to a birthday party and when Denise (Alanna Ubach) becomes pregnant hrough a sperm donation an seeks the father. On the phone, o

The film, probably made for the price of the phone bills, glories in its enclosed nature and atrives hard but not entirely successfully for with and wisdom. These people are busy busy, busy doing nothing very short time they're on the screen Here Salwen, well supported by ar unfamiliar cast of slightly off-beam characters, manages pretty well.

The means are sometimes predictable — the inevitable phone sex relationship that gives a new meaning to the word handset. But on the whole, it's an original effort, which proves that it may be good to talk but it may be better to do so

Portrait of the artist

Dan Glaister

A 25-YEAR-OLD artist from Derbyshire has won the £10,000 National Portrait Gallery's BP portrait award for 1996 with a self-portrait.

James Hague beat almost 800 entrants to win the prize. Britain's most prestigious portrait award, and will receive a £2,000 commission for the National Portrait Gallery's contemporary collection.

The award is seen as an important stepping stone for young artists and is credited with reviving the position of portraits in modern art. It is open to painters aged 18 to 40.

The prize was presented at the National Portrait Gallery by Jonathan Miller, The second prize of £4,000 went to Peter Andersen, and the third prize of £2,000 to Mark McPadden.

It is the first time Mr Hague has entered the competition. which is now in its 15th year. In 1994, he completed a degree in fine art at the University of



which has won him £10,000

Northumbria, and has been since graduating.
The award gained minor note

ricty three years ago when the by Philip Harris, showing himself and his girlfriend lying naked in a dry river bed, was



puinting in France and Spain

winning entry, a double portrait consored in some newspapers.

Tap, tap, tapping on heaven's door

Keith Watson

I ego to put on a show called Lord Of The Dance and then give yourself the starring role. But one thing Michael Flatley is not short of

Though he insists his less than dignified exit from Riverdance — James Hague's self-portrait, the Eurovision spectacular turned dance phenomenon - is water under the bridge, you can tell from behind its success.

Yet for all the rampant parcissism at its heart, there's no escaping the fact that Flatley has produced an but quickly develops a persuasive character of its own.

the Eurovision Song Contest, the show throws off its opening aura of virginal purity to reveal a passionately sensual animal. Cheeky proof of that comes when the chorus girls take off their pastel shifts to reveal slinky black underwear — it's a Bucks Fizz moment with an extra helping of libido.

The show scores most strongly by building on the spine-tingling energy of the finely synchronised tapthe glint in his eye that he is desper-ate to show he was the driving force | ping feet that form the core of the Irish folk dancing of which Flatley is a master. Where Riverdance is one stunning routine and a fair amount of filler, Lord Of The Dance plays to its strengths, working its outstandexhilarating extravaganza that ing ensemble of dancers to their starts out as Riverdance part two limits in a succession of demanding

and lightning-quick routines. At its best it whips up the alick | Expect it to run and run.

Though wrapped in the kind of excitement of Michael Jackson's ethereal Celticness that has proved so marketable and never fails to win ghost of Wacko Jacko hovers over the whole affair. As Flatley, torse artfully sweaty, rises from the dead (with a halo!) to banish evil, illusions of Christliness spring to mind. And follow the Lord Of The Dance arrive, after all, at Jesus.

But such is Flatley's power as performer this comes over as engaging rather than repellent. Flatley defies you not to submit to the hypnotic beat of his flying feet.

As he plays the puppetmaster to his rhythmic slaves, urging them into ever speedier, ever more complex step patterns, you can tell he must be a bastard to work for. That he makes his ego work to his advan-

tage is his greatest skill.
You've heard this before — but dance does not often get this good.

Border town of imagination

Adrian Searle

OU COULD be forgiven for thinking that, like Heaven, nothing ever happens in Berwick-Upon-Tweed. No cannon has been fired in anger, no angry al-liance of Scots and French has lain Elizabeth I had them erected here in 1558. But wait, something lurks. A group of stilled figures occupies the parade ground, black kites fly over the ramparts, and the face of a sailor, lost in his madness, looms from the lighthouse window.

Berwick is a town in a time warp, caught somewhere between the 16th century and a very unusual present. It has become a border town of the imagination, host to an inspired international exhibition curated by Pippa Coles, The Berwick

Ramparts Project, until September. Two black klosks, like coffins or sentry boxes, stand beneath the vertiginous ramparts. In one hang rows of black umbrellas; in the other, black kites, dangling like sinister bats. Lucia Noguiera's Smoke doesn't attempt to compete with the beauty of Berwick but to disrupt it. On opening day, more than 50 black kites flew above the town and a flock of black homing pigeons was released, filling the sky with black

bench, a spy's kit — these images of espionage are Brazilian-born Noguiera's attempt both to recall the intrigues that bedevilled Berwick's history (the town changed hands between England and Scotland 14 mations of magic and mortality.

Down in the enclosed courtyard of Nicholas Hawksmoor's Barracks, time has stopped. Twenty-two figures, by the Spanish sculptor Juan Muñoz, cluster in groups out on the gravel parade ground. They turn the space into a theatre of entrances and exits, a silent, still choreography of glances, gestures and soli-tudes. Muñoz's figures stand in the bowls of their shadows, facing each other like the dancers of a quadrille. or lean together and apart, frozen in attitudes of passing glances and inward silences. The entire scene is a perpetually stalled moment.

These sand-coloured, generic figures appear to be wearing voluninous dresses, while their features — moutha, eyes, fingers — have just enough detail and verisimilitude to allow the viewer a certain empathy with them. They are just a little smaller than adults, yet their mass seems greater than our own. Muñoz's Conversation Piece animates the space of the enclosed courtyard with a terribly affecting, naunting pathos, broken only by the echo of human feet and the cry of The gulls are making a fine mess

of American artist Dan Graham's Two 2-Way Mirrored Parallelograms Joined With Balanced Spiral Welded Mesh. Maybe they object to much for Graham's severely geometric, partially mirrored shelter. standing on a grassy knoll on the ramparts. Some young art lover has helpfully kicked in the mesh wall joining the two halves of the work.

times before 1482), and to counter the heavy hand of Heritage with intithe illusions it sets up to engage the viewer in multiple reflections of multiple selves, which meld into further reflections of the surrounding sea and sky, leaving you on the verge of disappearance.

The disappearance of yachtsman Donald Crowhurst and the loss at sea of artist Jan Adler provide the leitmotif of Tacita Dean's work in Berwick's unoccupied lighthouse. She has montaged a picture of Crowhurst, who went overboard after a psychotic game of chess with God while becalmed in the Sargasso sea, on to an image of the light-house, displaying it alongside a film of the workings of another lighthouse, projected on to the circular wall of the building's belly. The film is a mechanical dance of prisms and lares and clanking machinery, of lenses revolving in their polished brass and steel mounts.

Dying sunlight glints on the turning lenses, refracting a lurid sunset; as night falls, the cold, blue, burning light comes on to the sound of a million cackling seabirds as a smudge of magnified light traverses the black rocks and waves. We shuttle between interior shots and the outside world. At last, Dean has made a work whose simple elegance - which depends entirely on being shown in situ - lives up to her aspirations, and makes the trek to the end of the pier worthwhile.

The Berwick Ramparts Project is magnificent detaur (so, too, is the town itself), scrambling one's sense of location, evoking past and future time and presenting one with a



The Mexican sculptor Gabriel Orozco with La D S, which features is his show at the ICA, London. The vintage Citroën car, a 1950s icon,

Shaken to its foundations

Bombed out of its theatre, I inspired sets, Frank Sinatra sounds Manchester's Royal

Exchange company has been forced to improvise, writes Lyn Gardner

BRAHAM MURRAY, the co-artistic director of the Royal Exchange Theatre Company, was in London on the morning of Saturday, June 15, when the IRA bomb ripped through the heart of Manchester. "It's bad news," the theatre's general manager, Patricia Weller, told him in a phone call. "We'll definitely lose the matinée today." In fact, the company has been unable to return to its building since the blast, save for a few brief sorties to retrieve

box-office data and documents. Although the blast appeared to stop at the Exchange, and its three distinctive great domes remain intact, the whole building literally jumped in the implosion that fol-lowed the massive blast. Structural engineers and insurance assessors are now investigating the full extent of the damage. If all goes well, the

The warm applause that greeted Philadelphia Story at the Exchange's temporary home in Upper lottery application for a major refurit was for Josephine Abady's sharp, smart production of the play upon taken the work of the Royal Exwhich the movie High Society was change on tours over the last 10 stance and time. He brings to the despair of what he calls "a large based. It is an evening of high fash-ion, stylish Frank Lloyd Wright the plan forward six months.

role a flery impetuosity, which is city" but which has the distinct evidenced as much by the way he

and pointed witticisms. It is done with such élan that it makes you feel like a cat that's got the cream.

The American actress and Grace Kelly lookalike, Jordan Baker, gives a spunky performance as "virgin goddess" and heiress Tracy Lord who, on the eve of her second marriage, discovers a little compassion and humanity to warm her icy heart and realises, just in time, that

"Patronage has gone out of fash-ion," the writer and journalist, Mike Connor (Richard Hawley, giving a punchy impression of a man having an internal boxing match between integrity and self-interest) tells Tracy cuttingly when she offers him one of her houses to live in while he writes a novel. The Royal Exchange wouldn't be quite as sniffy about accepting some of the loose change rattling around in Tracy's pocket.

The speed with which the company has been able to resume performances, despite the loss of its building, is in part a sign of the affection in which the company is Cotton Exchange in February 1998. | like rise in Campfield Market is also idue to an extraordidary stroke of the first performance of The good luck in the timing. The com-Camplield Market was as much a bishment of the seventles building. recognition of the company's As a result, plans were already in achievement in being there at all, as I hand to temporarily move the com-

The devouring tyranny of time

AN JUDGE is the Royal Shakeapeare Company's specialist in

Michael Billington

feel-good comedy But how, one wondered, would he tackle that splendidly bilious cynic's Iliad, Troilus and Cressida? The short answer is: with great confidence and gathering awareness of

At first, I had grave doubts. gramme that he sees the play as a comedy bore strange fruit. The scene-setting Prologue was delivered by Richard McCabe as if he

were a TV warm-up man. But when it gets to the heart of the matter, Judge's production calms down; and what it brings out, with growing assurance, is the destrucliveness of time which reverberates through the play. Victoria Hamilton's Cressida is a

remarkable creation. At first, she is all pert sweetness and giddy sexual expectation. But, in the course of her night with Troilus, she grows shattered when she is cruelly traded for a Greek.

The great scene when she is ardenily besieged by Diomedes is played on a note of tremulous uncertainty, which climaxes in a heart rending cry of "Troilus", followed by a swift and abrupt "farewell".

draws his sword on the mocking Diomedes as by his passion for

Cressida. And, by the end, he has lapsed into an armour-plated cynicism. You feel that both he and his lover are as ruined as the patched-up, rusty cor-rugated walls of John Gunter's Troy. But if any performance epito-mises the play's mood, it is the

superb Ulysses of Philip Voss. He speaks the verse better than anyone on stage, makes the imagery come alive through manual gesture, and at the same time sums up, through his Machiavellian tactics to get Achilles on to the field, the corrosive cynicism that per-

THEY have already started demolishing London's Royal Court. At the end of Howard Korder's The Lights, the last play to be staged there before renovation, a couple of actors attack the back wall of the stalls with billhooks; we, the audience, in a reversal of the usual roles, are sitting on stage. It's a piquant moment as we watch the fabric of the ghost-haunted old place

But any hint of false sentiment is banished by Korder's play which, like his earlier Search And Destroy, offers a tough, abrasive trip through the American urban nightmare. Director lan Rickson's decision to switch the theatre round also makes total sense: action erupts on three

Two characters symbolise the unhappiness of this seething city. Lilian, a shopgirl from out of town impulsively steals a watch which she gives to Frederic, her jobless, no hope boyfriend. She, in the course of a night out with a colleague, gets picked up by a city official and the only means of urban survival. Frederic goes on to get roughed up by a loan-shark, joins a demolition gang and is eventually disowned by

the desensitised Lilian. Korder's point is that big cities breed personal despair and public corruption. His sustained metaphor is that of theft, including individual dignity and hope; in the words of one of the characters "nothing ma

ters and everything sucks". Korder gives a familiar theme personal spin by the fidelity of his ear and the accuracy of his eye Rickson's production and Jeremy Herbert's design also ingeniously exploit every nook and cranny of the building. And there are striking performances from Emily Mortimer, who has the gamine appeal of a young Audrey Hepburn, as Lilian; lusioned department store chum from Lee Ross as the helpless Frederle; and from Colin Stinton as a bumptious businessman who sentimentalises the city even as he cor-

ruptly exploits it. Korder nover quite gots round to condemning the whole capitalist system. But he takes one on a vivid journey through an urban hell and his play offers a fitting end to a chapter in the history of the pecling I dilapidated, much-loved Royal Court.



Young literary guns: from left, Andren Levy, Meera Syal and Diran

The new Brits make their mark

A new generation of British-born black and Asian writers is rising. writes Maya Jaggi

tress and writer Marsha Hunt — one-time star of Hair — launched the Saga prize last year for debut writers born in Britain of black African ancestry. she called it an "incentive to encourage a voice very long silent". Where, she lamented, was the "black voice of Britain"?

Funded by a Folkestone-based holiday company for the over-fifties. the £3,000 prize immediately bred controversy. Would it coax out talent or fence it off within a ghetto? Some took affront at the decision of the women's press Virago to publish the winners - male or female.

As the dust settles with the publication of the first winning novel, Diran Adebayo's Some Kind Of Black, the Saga prize looks set to take a modest place among grants and awards designed to bolster up and-coming writers.

Adebayo, a 27-year-old north Londoner of Nigerian parentage, and Virago's first living male author, calls his novel - somewhat tongue incheek - a "racialised observational comedy". Unlike much contemporary British fiction, it witnesses the vitality of a metropolis where one in five belong to an ethnic minority.

Adebayo tracks his young hero, Dele, amid the Afro-bohos, cult nats and love-has-no-colour-crowd of 1990s London and Oxford (where Adebayo studied law). As Dele's sister lies in a coma due to overzealous policing, Dele contends with the more subtly racist cult of the black male as fashion accessory - cool, body-toned and good for CDs and drugs - a patronising image of "inner-city cachet" that Adebayo deflates with humour and

More striking than the political heat generated by the Saga prize is that its first winner feeds on incipi-

NEW AUTHORS

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ent literary wave. When the prize was conceived, there were remarkably few published novelists who had been born in Britain of African. Caribbean or south Asian descent (Hanif Kureishi being the notable exception). Yet Adebayo joins Laura Fish,

Vanessa Walters, Andrea Levy, Fred D'Aguiar, Meera Syal and Bidisha Bandyopadhyay among those with first or second novels out this year. All can claim with irony the pedigree of Kurcishi's hero in The Buddha Of Suburbia, as an "Englishman horn and bred, almost".

The novels of this made-in-Britain generation have arguably little in ommon. Andrea Levy in Every Light In The House Burnin' and Meera Syal in Anita And Me recreate fictionalised childhoods in London and the Midlands respectively. while Vanessa Walters's Rude Girls bonds three young unemployed black women amid north London

with scant reference to race.

childhood viewed through the

prism of a parent's demise — by her

and confidence, in Levy's words,

back into the picture. "If English-

ness doesn't define me, redefine

There is also a dawning receptiv-

Englishness," Levy insists.

"Finding our feet and our voice."

But the strides made in the early 1990s by the X Press - launched Yardies, ragga and raves. Fred D'Aguiar, an established with Victor Headley's bestseller poet, visits the plantations of 19th Yardie - and the Brixton-based promoters, the Write Thing, were century Virginia in The Longest crucial. Bypassing conventiona Memory, which won the Whitbread rules to reach an untapped market, first novel award, while Dear Future they helped shatter the iron tacks between Guyana and London. Laura Fish's lyrical Flight Of premise that, aside from a few lone stars, the only black authors who Black Swans, set among Aboriginal stockmen in the Australian outback, sell are American and the readers reflects the painful dislocations of who buy them are white. its autobiographical "black Pom"

heroine - the child of adoption by a W H Smith and Books Etc now boasting "black ficwhite couple in rural England. But Bidisha's forthcoming Seahorses trawls London's 1990s media world tion" sections, the mass market notential of a "street" genre no Yet the timing of these novels owes something to demography. doubt reflects the pervasive input of black speech, music and style into Levy, in her late thirties, was driven Britain's youth culture. to write her first novel - a 1960s

Morrison or Terry McMillan.

Successful authors breed aspiring ones. Steve Pope of the X Press says: "Yardie was the book that got a lot of father's death from cancer. He was black people into bookshops who thought the books out there had among the Jamaican pioneers who stepped off the Empire Windrush in | nothing to do with their lives. It also 1948. The children of post-war mass started people thinking of themmigration are gaining material ease | selves as writers."

There can be pitfalls, however, in publishers' commercial awaken-Many express a hunger for lings. Does what editors think will images of themselves. A sense sell match what people want to of being invisible, erased from write? Levy, author of a second Britain's idea of itself and of its past, novel, Never Far From Nowhere, is an avowed spur for several of scorns publishers' "herd mentality". these authors to writing themselves | She recalls being told: "Love your writing — but could you write a book like [Amy Tan's] The Joy Luck Club?" She adds: "They wanted the 'immigrant experience' to be formuity to that voice. Not long ago, writ- laic. There's pressure to stay within ers would express resentment that publishers favoured the backward experience in Britain."

dance at "exotic" landscapes of-D'Aguiar, wary of the "black fered by those with memories of British" tag, says: "It's very hard to oin down such a thing as the black elsewhere (Salman Rushdie, Benexperience — the idea that black Okri, Anita Desai, Vikram Seth, xeople move through life in a partic-Romesh Gunesekera) over fiction dar way." Levy and D'Aguiar cite closer to home and to the bone. Now their working-class roots as more many editors and agents agree, the black British experience" is hot. crucial an influence than growing The shift no doubt reflects the

un black. Meanwhile in the scramble for market drive for novelty. Kurcishi helped prove the potential of a fresh the here-and-now, the past and fortake on Britain and Britishness. It eign settings risk being swept aside. Victor Headley was once quoted in the Times as saying "so-called black intellectuals" like Ben Okri and also rides on transatlantic successes. The scarch is on — perhaps rassly — for the British Toni Caryl Phillips were "not relevant to what we're thinking about in the black community . . . They don't

know what's going on." Aside from whether a monolithic "black community" exists or what it thinks about, the impoverished notion of "relevance" in this blackerthan-thou pitch would strait-jacket any writer. Yet Headley's comment does highlight a growing debate among some young black readers impatient with the spate of historical fiction since the late 1980s, perhaps exemplified by Phillips's diaspora novels. Why hark back to 300 years of slavery? Why not a black

Kureishi? Yet that historicism has in a sense laid the groundwork for new writing. "If you don't know where you've come from, you don't know where you're going," Phillips says. It also writes the black presence back into the British landscape - from Victorian Londoners to second world war GIs. In chronicling the 1960s and 1970s, Syal and Levy take up the baton, telling a fragment of a collec-

tive saga through individual stories. Jonny Geller, the literary agent at Curtis Brown whose list includes Adebayo and the 17-year-old Bidisha, says: "I hope historical novels don't get pushed aside. Every culture needs to know where it's coming from before it can go forward. It's the same with Irish or Jewish writing. It develops through a firm knowledge of what's gone

Along with the Saga quest for an absent "black voice of Britain" came ignorant statements in the press about there being "no history of

black British writers". Literature by black people in Britain dates from the 18th century. If you had to be born in England to leave a mark on English letters, Swift, Conrad and T S Eliot would not have made i into the canon.

Ferdinand Dennis, whose forthcoming second novel, The Last Blues Dance, is rooted in the innercity present, warns: "There should be an awareness among writers that they stand within a tradition. That way some of them - or their pronoters — might stop thinking hey're inventing the wheel."

Marsha Hunt insisted: "The black British voice is different to that of the immigrant American, Nigerian or Jamaican." Formative years spent on these shores may well make for a inique experience. And, as Adebayo points out, each generation

But MANY novelists born abroad have also recorded a distinctively. distinctively British experience. As D'Aguiar notes: "Black creativity is not new, though a broad awareness of it is." There are no clean borders between the imagina tive terrain of migrant writers, oth ers brought as children, and those born on this soil with an ineradicable heritage from elsewhere. As Syal's British-born Brummie heroine nuts it: "There was a corner of me that would be for ever not England."

To force writers under exclusive that "post-colonial" writers exploring Britain's imperial past and postimperial present have long croded the boundaries between here and there, "us" and "them".

Rushdie said: "The migrant is not simply transformed . . . he also transforms his new world." An openness not just to their own narrowly defined "ethnic community" but to the vitality of a multi-racial Britain often ignored in fiction. marks out what Robert Lee in Other Britain, Other British (1995, Pluto) terms "post-migrant" novelists.

Penelope Lively patronised David Dabydeen's first novel, The Intended, in 1991 with the well-mean ing statement: "We badly need good novels about the immigrant experience in Britain." But far from interpreting the "immigrant experience to curious outsiders, these novelists shatter myths of identity at Britain's heart. To read them is not simply to understand "them" but to under stand "ourselves".

Some Kind of Black by Diran Adebayo, Virago, 29.99; Rude Girls by Vanessa Walters, Pan Books, £5.99; Every Light In the House Burnin' by Andrea Levy, Hodder Headline, £5.99 and Never Far From Nowhere by Andrea Levy, Hodder Headline, £12.99; Flight of Black Swans by Laura Fish, Duckworth, £14.99; Anite and Me by Meera Syal, Flamingo, £9.99; The Longest Memory by Fred D'Agular, Chatto, £5.99 and Dear Future, Chatto, £14.99

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Sovereign of the word

Laura Cumming

by Paul Theroux

My Other Life: A Novel

Hamish Hamilton 440pp £16

HERE'S a chapter in this

book, already notorious, where Paul Theroux is

invited to sup with the Queen. The

guests gather silently like partici-

pants in a seance, nervously await-

ing the "royal ectoplasm". A small

muffin-faced woman sidles past, but

Theroux instantly recognises the

Elizabethan profile. "That reminds

me, I must buy some stamps," he

quips. Nobody listens. Nobody pays

attention to Theroux all night

Prince Philip is so uninterested in

this alien American that he turns

aside in strenuous disgust. Another

Theroux has sovereign control.

pure quality of the prose, evocative,

and you soon see the discrepancy at

the heart of the book. What Ther-

one and the same.

James Wood

by David Fost Wallace

Little Brown 1,077pp £17.99

TS ELIOT praised, in the ser-

Lancelot Andrewes what he calls

mons of the Elizabethan bishop

Infinite Jest

author aren't one and the same

the outline of Theroux's life

teaching in Africa and Singapore,

prosperity and marriage in rain-blackened London, catastrophe chance for a quick, sharp profile: "that nose looked like a handle on then flight to the Pacific's sunnier the front of his face". The Royals shores - each chapter is plotted as may command a captive audience, a dramatic confrontation. In Yorkbut in the private world of writing, shire, Theroux gets lost "after a winter sunset, when the way is made My Other Life is so brazenly pervisible by the pale sky showing in sonal that you read, as it were, with puddles on the maddy path". Withyour hand across your eyes. Therout knowing his identity, a woman oux - or his doppelgänger if you takes him in. Spying his books on take that "novel" literally - reveals the shelves. Theroux despicably himself in the least sympathetic solicits her opinion. The response is light. He is vain; nearly every chapso fitillatingly ecstatic he toys with ter incorporates swollen tributes the sexual advantages of revealing from his fans. He is goatish: not his name. But his hostess is dreameven nuns escape his lecherous ing of that Other Man, the writer. regard. And his irascibility, so pi-"rather shy . . . very gentle . . . I'd so quant in the travel writing, is now like to meet him." Theroux is far beyond Prince Philip's in its state dogged by mistaken identity. of advance. But set against this the Women regularly confuse him with the writer, a wanderer always ready painstaking, comic, even tender, to listen; they notice his chill selfabsorption too late. When his marriage fails. Theroux returns to oux's narrative ingeniously attests is America, but cannot write without that the man and the author aren't family life. One night, he sees some tattooed kids taking out a video of The two parties encounter each one of his films. Pathetically, he other in devastating ways: at least tries to impress them. They don't one reason for arranging truth as fiction. Although the book follows believe that screenwriting exists:

Thoreau."

thing in the book has a counterweight. Against the Festschrift Theroux has written for himself, the list of much-praised titles, the record of awards, the plaudits from revered colleagues like Anthony Burgess ("I read your book, Railway Bazaar, once a year'), there is another life. With pitiless clarity, Therwhich, left in the darkness . . . begin Theroux alludes to the rift only squandering champagne. Facts, of course, can tell you noth-

ing: Theroux is elaborating to get at the truth. Whatever he learned about his private self while writing is never explicitly vouchsafed, Indeed he pointedly includes a scene in which a psychiatrist advises him to read his own novels. But he gives a wonderfully detailed account of his writing life: the promising early paragraph, the afternoon wasted at the pub. In the garden, he observes a trickle of water to be turned "into a river, with ox-hows and mud-slides" Inside the house, he agonises over a sentence which resolves itself as you read. When a film director considers him for the part of a writer. he can't resist completely rejigging the script. He doesn't get the part, but the writer in him is, secretly, re-

writes movies, it's all photography and acting." Next day one of them

excitedly raises his hopes: "We had your book in the consignment shop! The guy, he's bumined out . . . In a little cabin, right?' I fell silent. I said, 'That's Walden, by Henry David This may be literary masochism,

Theroux: the man and the

lieved to get back to work on this

but it's comically redeemed: everyoux describes his lack of friends, his envy of other travellers, his resurgent lust "like a pile of greasy rags to heat as though from the growing density of their very gases". As divorce approaches, the book conspicuously deepens into fiction. cryptically, in a sad little tale about

property, wages or education.

Boyhood, boats and books

Desmond Christy

Not Entitled, A Memoir by Frank Kermode HarperCollins 263pp £18

MEMOIRS. A chance to tell the world of how you blamed a servant for what you stole, of the neglect of your children, of the women and men you betrayed, and reveal what a good person you really were despite these sins. Along the way you will mention all the great personages who crossed your path: Goethe in Weimar, Napoleon n Moscow, Tony Blair at Blackpool.

Frank Kermode - let's drop the "Sir" as he is "not entitled" — does none of this. His memoir breaks naturally into three parts - boyhood, boats and books - and then seems to divide again, into what is on the page and into troubling silences. In this gentle, honest, wellmannered, almost holy book, being "not entitled" crops up again and again. Surely so distinguished a man as Kermode — regarded by many as the finest living critic writing in English -- can claim to be somebody in this world, to be one of those who belong? Why is he considering so carefully matters of entitlement? The first answer is that he is not thinking of himself at all, he is thinking of his parents and all of those like them who never laid claim to very much in the way of

Kermode was born on the Isle of Man where his family lived in a "uterine tenement" and then in a "low rental house provided by the town council". His father had taken a job as a storekeeper, a plucky man with a son who was bookish and clumsy. A son who belonged to his mother. His boyhood included a chat

tasted the same to all those who ate them) and a brush with despair and sin (faking a school report). But in the end he didn't need academic fakery to claim a scholarship to Liverpool University. Hitler interrupted his studies and Kermode joined the navy. Now we discover further meanings of the book's title, "Not Entitled!" is what is shouted out in the navy when a sailor has been fined so much that he is not entitled to any pay at all.

The rest of the book, and the life. literature, and if it isn't, Kermode s not going to tell you about it. He does not tell you about the women in his life, or much about his professional work or his meetings with Napoleons or Matthew Arnolds, or Paul de Man

He does tell us, in a chapter traightforwardly called "Errors", about how he discovered that Encounter, which he was co-editing. was being funded by the CIA, but he only tells us, you feel, out of a sense of duty. He does tell us about the "McCabe affair", but does not call it that because this controversy was not, he insists, about a lecturer refused a post but about the frustrating efforts to reform the way English is taught at Cambridge.

So we have another sense of "not entitled": things a reader is not entitled to be told, even to ask, and about which the writer is not entitled to tell. In a book that is tall of seruple he allows himself a sense of an ending by contemplating a statue of Diana given to him by some friends. Henceforth she will preside over his garden and the commonplace nouse in it, and as long as she belongs there. I will belong there also, or be as close to belonging as I am entitled to be, for as long as I am entitled to be." Existence itself with God (asking Him if oranges | becomes a matter of entitlement.

HOW TO BECOME A FREELANCE WRITER pages are marvels of comic concen-

by NICK DAWS

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on us. This fertility offers wondrous possibilities for comedy, and obvious dangers, the biggest danger that of parallelism; that a novelist will simply bloat his representation of America to match the size of America's bloatedness. Irrelevant intensity tends towards

and technology, and whose speci-ficity is wildly in excess of the actual

This gigantic novel — 980 pages learn to pick out the good tunes of narrative with 100 pages of notes from the bad. Sentences and whole

learned: "When Schtitt exhales he makes little sounds variant in plosivity between P and B", and he encourages his characters to speak and think similarly. Hal Incandenza, one of the book's protagonists, is given to observations like this: "The nattress, a Simmons Beauty Rest whose tag said that it could not by law be removed, now formed the hypotoneuse of a right dihedral triangle whose legs were myself and the bed's box spring."

"relevant intensity"; much American comic writing of the past 30 years has been propelled by its irrelevant intensity. In particular, the irrelevance that a superabundant modern culture presses The novel is set in the first decade of the next century, and in this new dispensation (after "the Limbaugh dministration") years are no longer marked by numerals, as 2004 or 2010. Instead, a cash-greedy government arranges for years to be sponsored by companies, and then to be

3. DOUS DODUJAT in 1)avid named Chinese style — "Year of the Foster Wallace's astonishing and Purdue Wonderchicken", "Year of still allows for Foster Wallace's vast epic of contemporary American culture. One of these modes is a Size Dove Bar". culture. One of these modes is a zany, technical specificity, whose pseudo-precise language is borwhat puerile yet very alive. The rowed from the discourse of science kind of comedy that Foster Wallace enjoys needs the kinesis of great narrative length; individually, his gags seem spindly and perhaps not importance of the data; the second very funny. His genius lies in his devotedness to his world. But the mode is the comic and pointless accumulation of brand names and book is patchy and the reader must

Comedy on an infinite scale tration; followed by two pages of flabbiness and release. is rich in comic accretion. Foster The narrative squalls around two Wallace enjoys being pseudo centres - a tennis academy called the Enfield Tennis Academy (ETA)

in Boston; and Ennet House, a drug and addiction treatment house next door. So the novel's protagonists are, mainly, drug addicts, very good tennis students, and crazy Quebe cois separatist terrorists - and all these people are comic because they are removed from human motivation and turned into manic machines. Here, for instance, is one of the

tennis academy's students, out on ner evening walk, squeezing tennis balls: "Out for a staff-ordered weight-management post-dinner stroll, squeezing Penn 5's in both hands, in ETA sweat pants and with an enormous violet bow either scotch-taped or glued to the blunt rounded top of her hair." The tennis student is "staff-ordered", but thi deliberate comic vagueness - the ow is "either acotch-taped or This extraordinary novel is someglued" to the hair,

It is hard to sustain interest in a very long book in which the comedy of character has been surrendered to the comedy of culture. But Wallace is a superb comedian of culture.

His exuberance and intellectual

implishmess are a delight. The inten-sities, in all their sublime irrelevance, seem, by the end of the book, both relevant and minatory.

Nume (BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE) Address

Olympic Games

Golden

in a row

Mick Cleary at Lake Lanler

HE Challenge defined rather than intimidated. After a week

others tragic, Steve Redgrave and

Matthew Pinsent blocked out all in-

It was Britain's first gold medal of

the Games and Redgrave's fourth in

succession. He becomes only the

fourth Olympian ever to achieve

such a feat. He stands now as a man

Redgrave and Pinsent had to look

deep within themselves to find the

necessary resolve and will to with

stand a late charge from the Aus-

week. For all the technique, all the

poundage in the gym, such victories

often come down to elemental

forces. Redgrave and Pinsent were

dogs on the water, scrapping and

To casual observers the event

may seem merely an untroubled

burst of exertion, a demonstration

of physical prowess. It is also much

more than that. You need heart and

fearsome drive to succeed, real guts

Small wonder that when it was all

over, when the clock showed that

the defending champions had held on by just 0.93sec, the pair slumped

over their oars. Pinsent was back up

immediately, Redgrave, though, re-

mained prostrate, racked by pain,

relief, maybe a touch of sadness that

it was all over. "I was knackered, ab-

solutely knackered," said Redgrave,

aged 34, who also has the unprece-

dented record of 10 major champi-

snarling to protect their turf.

o face down upponents.

tralians, the form crew during the

terference to ride triumphantly to

the line and into history.

apart in British sport.

of distractions, some farcical,

oar's four

Design for life

Paul Evans

STRANGE thing happened at the Hampton Court palace flower show. Having struggled through the crowds looking at designer gardens, nursery displays, floristry exhibits and acres of stands selling every kind of garden nick nackery imaginable, I stumbled into a mirage. This is it, I thought, truly a garden-for-our-time. Here was a little muddy pond, water covered in duckweed, a few elegant reed-mace shouting from the margins, an old bicycle wheel and bits of wood sticking enigmatically from its weedy denths.

I spent some time admiring the way the pond had been undesigned, allowing Nature to overwrite the ego of the designer. It reminded me of childhood ponds, teeming with newts and beetles, long since swept away and tidied from the landscape. Here was a robust, defiant, vibrant little puddle of wildness in a world obsessed with order and instant gratification. I had, of course, got it

Next to the duckweed pond was mother of the same size but clean and tidy, with bright red waterfillies and the fussy designer nonsense that goes with contemporary water gardens. The display was meant to be a Before and After lesson, Illustrating how the designers could transform a worthless swamp into a sparkling new suburban paradise. 'A pox on 'em." I muttered and wandered back into the milieu.

The display gardens on show at Hampton Court, like those at the famous Chelsea Flower Show, invariably end up on the wrong side of naff. Apart from being beyond the reach of the thousands of ordinary punters pressing against them with mixture of lust and envy, they have a "knowingness", which robs the innocence from a relationship between human creativity and Na-ture at the heart of gardening.



VIII was stomping around his Privy garden (not to be confused with garden privy) here at Hampton Court palace, garden plants were few and simple, and garden design, like Henry, a brutally symmetrical symbol of power and dominion. I wonder what Henry would have made of the bizarre scene of hundreds queuing at the Cambodian garden, built for the Christian Aid charity, to tread on fake land mines hicklen under exotic foliage. I'm sure the people trying to raise awareness of this terrible legacy of war-zones around the world had not intended to provide a cheap thrill for the British who love a bit of sex and violence with their gardens. And I wonder when the first Northern Ireland

riot garden will appear. Despite the wonderful diversity of plants at the flower show, the way they furnish gardens and the way gardens fit into culture and land- eye for those who would design us scapes shows that the relationship

Chess Leonard Barden

EW orthodox chess primers will | be Claude Bloodgood. The 71-yeargive you this advice, but one of the best short-cuts to success for ambitious juniors and club players is to learn some offbeat openings which contain plausible traps.

If you are interested in this route, then the Russian master Iakov Neistadt's new booklets - Winning Quickly With White and Winning Quickly With Black (each £12.99 from Cadogan) - both contain useful ammunition

Neistadt's method is based on miniature games, which he defines as a maximum 18 moves. I don't completely agree with some of his choices - old favourites like the Vienna, the Goring Gambit, and the Ruy Lopez with an early d4 get scant treatment - but he still has some telling examples of rare systems based on plausible moves that have a high strike rate in practi-

cal play.
Here's one that was new to me. which has occurred at least three times over the board and has a respectable pedigree; the white player in this game is a 2,600-plus

> Rozentalis-Mikenas. Vilnius, 1981

e4 Nf6 2 Nc3 d5 3 exd5 Nxd5 Bc4 Nb6 5 Bb3 e57! Nc6 is with a fierce desire to stamp individual personality on the world and a safer. 6 d3 Nc6 7 Nf3 Bg4 8 h3 fear of the wild spirit howling at the Bh5? Black should settle for Bxf3, but pinning the f3 knight is a normal garden gate. Shanghaied from their ecological relationships with each plan in Alekhine's Defence. other, garden plants have become 9 Nxe51 A sophisticated version

of the ancient Legal Trap (1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 d6 3 Bc4 Bg4 4 Nc3 h6? 5 Nxe5! Bxd1? 6 Bxf7+ Ke7 7 Nd5 mate). and embellish egos. They carry messages to those who read the sexually charged language of gar-Bxd1? Black should struggle on

a pawn down by Nxe5 10 Qxh5. 10 Bxf7+ Ke7 11 Bg5+ Kd6 12 Ne4+ Kxe5 13 f4+ Kd4 14 Rxd11 Threatens 15 c3+ Ke3 16 0-0 and Rf3 mate. Nb4 Black plans to meet 15 Bxd8

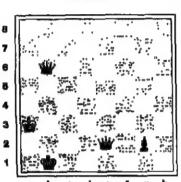
Nxc2+, 15 c3+ Ke3 16 0-0 Nxd3 ety. And yet here is a thriving, un-Black expects his king to escape by

17 Ng3! Resigns.

old covicted murderer, serving a life sentence in a Virginia prison, has become No 9 in the United States - which has some 50,000 active players - by playing 1,700 rated games against other inmates. There seems to be a flaw in our rating procedures," said a US official.

Britain's prodigy Luke McShane, aged 12, is attempting to become the youngest ever UK international master at the sixth annual invitation sponsored by accountants Smith & Williamson near Guildford. British champion Matthew Sadler set the current age record at 13. Meanwhile Michael Adams has been voted the Leigh-BCF player of the year for the third year running.

No 2432



Black (to move) was one square rom promoting his pawn in this 1958 Russian game. He advanced it to gl and then hesitated, "Which piece de you want?" prompted White. As soon as he heard "A queen", White banged down his reply and it was clear that the game was drawn.

ruled that a verbal announcement did not constitute a move, so that Black could still promote to any piece bar a king. After some hesita tion, Black substituted a rook at gl White again banged out his answe and they agreed a draw. What were White's two moves

No 2431: 1 Qc8+ Rb8 2 Ke7! Rxc8

onships to his name. nitely the end. If anyone sees me

near a boat, will they please shoot me." Pinsent jokingly claimed that he would also walk away: "It's definitely enough for me if not for him." - The Observer

Redgrave was later due to meet the 64-year-old Al Oerter, from Babylon, New Jersey, the former United States discus thrower, "president" of the immortals and the first of the four men to win gold medals at four successive Olympics, write Guardian Reporters.

Meanwhile in the other rowing connetition. Britain's coxless four, with two previous gold medalists on board, had to settle for bronze in a nail-biting finish with 1.5sec cover-

Searle and Tim Foster were sixth at 500 metres and opened the throttle after 1,000m. The 1992 Olympic champions from Australia were first and France second.

this was Redgrave's last race. "I've had enough," he said. "This is definitely the and If his run-up, a problem all season, and moved into third place with

17.13m. His next of 17.88m, his best | by the narrowest of margins in a this year, was enough for silver, "By chance I hit my rhythm; it was like

Roger Black stormed home ia this and the 200m.

ing the first three. Rupert Obholzer, Jonny and Greg

Elsewhere Jonathan Edwards

an enlightenment," sald Edwards, a committed Christian.

44.31sec to finish just behind the favourite Michael Johnson in the 800m final, Johnson's time was an Olympic record at 43,49sec, and is the first of an expected double gold, There was silver also for swim-

mer Paul Palmer in the men's 400m freestyle. He was pipped for gold by New Zealand's Danyon Loader. There were medals also for two other British swimmers - Graeme Smith picked up a bronze in the 1500m freestyle and Nick Gillingham in the 200m breaststroke.

Steve Smith, the 23-year-old Liverpool Harrier, saved his season's best for when it mattered most clearing 2.35m for a bronze in high jump. "It was an awesome competi tion," he said, after hours of jumping. "It is a relief to have got a medal. This is just the best feeling."

nerve-tingling fluish to the hep-tathlon. She was ahead of Urszula Wlodarczyk as the athletes lined up for the final event, the 800m, She finished more than five seconds behind the Pole to beat her to a medal by just five points. The gold went to Ghada Shouan, with a 6,780 total. She became the first Syrian winner of an Olympic title, The biggest disappointment

the Games for Britain came when Linford Christie yielded Olympic 100m title to Donovan Bailey of Canada. Christle got himself disqualified after making two false starts in the final.

Sally Gunnell could be facing the end of a golden athletics career after breaking down while defending the Olympic 400 metres hurdles title here last night.
On her 30th birthday, Gunnell

hobbled to a halt in the semi-finals with a recurrence of an inflamed Achilles tendon. She received treatment from British team doctor Malcolm Brown and the foot was heavily strapped.

Manchester United were cerain that their bid, believed to be around £12 million, would be accepted by Shearer, But he

over Shearer, Manchester United continued their summer signing spree last week, bringing the Dutch star Jordi Cruyff to Old Trafford from Barcelona the fifth new arrival at the club this year. United have puld an initial fee of £800,000 for Crueff to sign a four-year contract with the Premiership champions.

where, former Arsenal goal-Lukic's place at Leeds is Nigel Martyn, who comes to Elland Road from Crystal Palace for £2.25 million. Tottenham

Cricket First Test: England v Pakistan

Quick crossword no. 325

- Main part of animal (4) liluminated as a spectacle (5-3) Roman
- garment (4) Diplomatic etiquette (8) Emily Bronte
- hero (10) Renounce one's views (6) 5 Doorway (6)
- 7 Stern and relentless (10) 20 Quality of 21 Built-up area (-1)
- 22 Finished and whole (8) 23 Grudging atimiration (4)

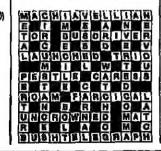
Down

at sea (3,5)

6 Scarcity (4)

- Meat shop 2 Two hour period 19 Secretive 4 Aristocratic (6) 5 Not with it (3,2,5)
- covering (4) 10 Extraordinary (10) 12 Obstinate (8)
- 13 Channel Island (8) 6 Cupboard (6) 18 Smart (4)

person (4)



Last week's solution

Bridge Zia Mahmood

between people and Nature is even

cause attempts at naturalness con

ceal environmental guilt tempered

sensual objects to decorate surface:

dening that here is a person of taste

So what does my muddy, weedy little pond tell me? It says that in the

rough, commonplace, vernacular

landscapes lies an artless, innocent,

which has little if any value to soci-

occidental relationship with Nature

tidy exuberance. Here's one in the

and sophistication.

'M writing from Phoenix Inter- | fit - a slam in clubs would be excelnational Airport on the way home from San Francisco after the US team trials, where I was part of a strong five-man squad.

We fancied our chances, though the trial is difficult to win - we would have to survive four long, lough matches.

We started better than we had lioped. Not only did we survive the opening rounds, but Nickell, the reigning world champions, were knocked out by Robbins, an unfancied team from Chicago whom we would now play in the final.

I have to confess that we were soundly beaten. This was one of my number of problems at various points in the auction - make up your mind what you would do at each stage before reading on. You pick up this hand with both sides vulnerable:

4Q2 ♥AKQ +Q3 4K109876

You're playing a strong no trump. Would you open with the orthodox INT?

I opened one club. Your hand has that you would not do with 11 points great potential if partner has a club | rather than 16.

♦A3 ♥75 ♦K9862 **♠**A543

simply raise INT to 3NT. Partner responds with one diamond, giving you an awkward re-bid. Would you choose conservative two clubs, an one heart? Three clubs would be too much with a mediocre suit, and one heart runs risks. I chose the safe two clubs. Partner bids two spades, which is forcing to game. Would you now bid three clubs,

314 I is correct, as it shows extra values, gets the hand off your chest. and allows partner to bid on if he wishes. The story might have ended there - except I couldn't bid 3NT, as we had an agreement that it showed a one-loser club suit. I had to bid 2NT - and so, for the moment, will you. Partner bids 3NT. Would you now pass, or show your extra values with a raise to 4NT? Remember that partner has shown a good hand with his bidding to date. while you have so far done nothing

I bid 4NT - not Blackwood, jus a natural bid showing extra strength and inviting slam. Partner bids 5NT putting the ball in your court. The

3 Bg2+ Kb8 4 Ba7+ Kxc7 5 b6 mate

You	Part
14	10
2♣	2♠
2NT	3NT
4NT	5NT
?	

While the last four bids may look surreal to you, until now you have may not have agreed with all my acyou now pass, or accept partner's invitation with six clubs or 6NT?

I chose 6NT; this was my part ner's hand:

♠KJ97 ♥J64 ♠AKJ10 ♣QJ

We had plenty of tricks but there was one alight problem or rather two slight problems. What was more, left-hand opponent was on lead holding both of them, so he doubled and cashed out for minus 200 to our side.

Phoenix is a lonely place.

England's hopes collapse in a heap

Mike Selvey at Lord's

THE PAKISTAN cricket team has long been one fuelled on passion rather than on pragmatism, capable of touching stratospheric heights and plumbing the lowest depths — all within the same afternoon. They rely on force. But even adrenalin cricket that carried them to victory in the first Test on Monday was something special.

the course of one frenzied hour's cricket after lunch that saw David Lloyd's British Bulldog - the one that for the previous four hours and Alec Stewart were putting together a second-wicket partnership of 154, and growled at the intruders - suddenly lose its teeth and roll over like a pet poodle.

The Mound Stand clock showed three minutes before two o'clock and the scoreboard beneath it 168 for one when the mayhem began

minutes later, Graham Thorpe was wandering back to the pavilion and the board read 186 for eight. Seven wickets had fallen for 18 runs in 75 balls. As collapses go, this was in the same class as Norman Wisdom's deckchair. With the heart and soul knocked

out of the England order, Pakistan then eased the pressure, allowing the last two wickets to add 57, before victory was achieved. No matter though: the damage had been and the man of the match award. The match turned around during done earlier, and although there were reports of thunder showers drifting in, Pakistan's decision to bat on for more than an hour in bad light on Saturday evening bought more, while Mike Atherton and them time. Once the breach had been made, it was always under control and there were 27 overs still re-. maining when Ian Salisbury hooked at a bouncer from the Pakistan captain Wasim Akram and was caught

behind after a spirited 40. The win, by 164 runs, was only Pakistan's eighth against England, with Atherton's dismissal, Sixty-one ground. On the second occasion, four leg before, and Mullaly caught close Pakisten won by 164 runs

Waqar's last-ditch stand that had plucked victory from England when it had been theirs for the taking Waqar was there again on Monday, surging in from the Pavilion end and adding three further wickets, in-cluding that of the hapless Graeme Hick, to that of Nick Knight on the previous afternoon. His tally of 4-85 gave him match figures of 8-154 wonderful stuff on a slow pitch -

other end Mushtaq Ahmed had been plugging away. His was a tribute to persistence. From the moment in the first innings that he had | played freely and confidently for 261 Alec Stewart leg before wicket, he | minutes before Mushtaq spun one had sent down 49 overs without suc- out of the rough, which bounced cess. It simply could not last, and it from this thigh pad and touched his did not. It was a decision, made at glove. But his 89 will reinforce his lunchtime on Monday, to go around the wicket that changed his fortune. In the space of 57 balls, Atherton had been caught at slip, Stewart taken at silly point, Ealham bowled but significantly, their third on this behind his legs, Thorpe, unluckily,

in on the offside. Figures of 5-57 from 38 overs was magnificent bowling, and few would have argued had he - or indeed Inzamam-ul-Haq. who batted superbly - received the man of the match award instead.

Perhaps England had been seduced by the certainty with which Atherton and Stewart had negotiated the morning's play. Although Waqar had in effect been held in reserve, Mushtaq always posed difficult questions, and everyone knows Wasim's potential. It was, perhaps, Stewart who was the more impressive, however, because while we expect this sort of thing from Atherton, his partner has been teetering on But this was a partnership. At the the brink of Test match extinction.

Although his batting after Atherton's dismissal for 64 had taken on a more frenetic air, Stewart had position in the side.

Pakistan 340 (inzamam 148, Anwar 74, Mullaly 3-44) and 352 for 5 dec (Anwar 88, I Ahmed 76, Cork 3-86); England 285 (Stewart 89, M Ahmed 5-57, Younis 4-85) £15m Magpie

Shearer, the

Sports Dlary

Shiv Sharma

A LAN SHEARER became the world's most expensive footballer by moving from Blackburn Rovers to his home town club, Newcastle United, for a staggering £15 million. He was top scorer for England in Euro linked with a number of clubs ncluding Manchester United. But he opted for a five-year contract with the Magpies.

Shearer, who began his caree at Southampton, moved to Blackburn in 1992 and got 34 league goals two seasons ago to lead them to their first championship for 81 years. He is the only player to have scored more han 100 Premiership goals.

chose Newcastle's higher offer.

ESPITE the disappointment

In comings and goings elsekeeper John Lukic returned to Highbury on a free transfer after six years with Leeds. He will be David Scaman's deputy. Taking Hotspur paid £2 million for 25year-old Danish midfielder Allan Nielsen, their first major signing of the summer. Another player leaving Blackburn will be striker Mike Newell. He is moving to Birmingham City for £775,000.

EENAGER David Sales, the Northamptonshire bataman Jumble, wrote himself into the record books on Saturday by hammering a double century on his county championship debut. Sales, an England Under-19 player, was the first person to achieve the feat in the competition's 106-year history. At 18 years and 237 days, he also became the youngest player to make a double century in firstclass cricket in England. When 410 for 3 in their second innings Sales was out for a duck in the first — against Worcestershire at Kidderminster, he was unbeaten

AN McGeechan, the former Scotland back, has been appointed coach of the British Lions for an unprecedented third time. Next summer he will be assisted by former Lions' teammate Fran Cotton for the tour of South Africa.

with 210. The match, however,

ended in a draw.

